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MACMILLAN'S LATIN CLASSICS

EDITED BY JAMES C. EGBERT, PH.D.

Professor of Latin, Columbia University



CICERO'S LETTERS



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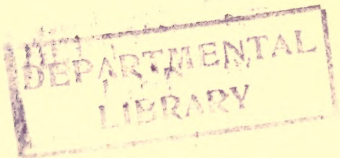
CICERO'S LETTERS

SELECTED AND EDITED

BY

ERNST RIESS, PH.D.

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS, BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL
BROOKLYN



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FILIAE RARISSIMAE

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THE END OF THE WORLD

PREFACE

THE following selections from the correspondence of Cicero are intended for the use of Freshman classes. It is the belief of the editor that, after the mainly grammatical treatment of Latin in the secondary school, the students need most to be awakened to the fact that the Roman authors were men of flesh and blood. No author seems more suitable for this purpose than the letter-writer Cicero, on account of the close personal *rappor*t which can be established between author and reader. At the same time the student is, at least to a certain extent, familiar with the problems which the Ciceronian age presented to its citizens, so that some apperceptive basis for just appreciation exists.

In accordance with this idea, the editor has aimed to put before the student a large number of letters. In their selection the guiding principle has been to have the student form a clear picture, well rounded, of Cicero, not only as a man in public life, but also in his private relations to family and friends.

The notes, too, have been written with the condition of the Freshman in mind. They are, therefore, of an elementary character, and especially do they seek to refer the student to those writings of Cicero with which he may be supposed to be acquainted. Because of the immaturity of the student, no attention has been paid to questions of text criticism. To present a readable text has been the

chief consideration. On the other hand, stress has been laid on Antiquities, on the colloquial nature of the language, and on the human element, with an honest effort to present Cicero the man, with both his good and bad qualities, and yet, withal, thoroughly lovable.

The introduction attempts to place letter-writing in its appropriate position as a branch of literature. It then briefly sketches the personality of the more important correspondents, the form and style of letter-writing in antiquity, and the background, both historical and personal, without which the letters cannot be understood.

Predecessors have been freely drawn upon, but conscientious acknowledgment of such assistance has been made.

As for the rest: *habent sua fata libelli*.

ERNST RIESS.

NEW YORK, December, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION

HISTORY OF LETTER-WRITING DOWN TO THE TIME OF CICERO¹

LETTER-WRITING is naturally as old as the knowledge of writing itself. We possess from both Chaldaea and Egypt letters written many centuries before the Greeks entered into the circle of History. The sixth book of the *Iliad*² represents Bellerophon as carrying with him on his journey to Lycia "sad signs." There can be no doubt, in the face of the discovery by Mr. Evans of the Cretan pictographs, that these "signs" were real letters. According to ancient tradition,³ the first letter was written by Queen Atossa, the mother of Xerxes. But it is a far cry from the simple sheet, carrying some business or family news from one person to the other, to the letter as a literary product, such as we see it perfected in Pascal's *Lettres Persanes*, in the Chesterfield Letters, or in the writings of Junius.

Letter-writing as Literature may be said to go back to a twofold root. On the one hand, it is the substitute for oral communication. On the other, it is the successor of the Dialogue. But before anybody could venture to use a letter as a means of putting his reflections before the public a deep change had to come in the conception of Society. For in the letter, as nowhere else, the individual soul claims its right of self-expression. In older times such right was

¹ H. Peter, *Der Brief in der Antiken Litteratur*, *Abh. Saechs. Ges.*, V, 20.

² *Il.* VI, 168.

³ *F.H.G.* I, 163.

denied to the individual. If personal thought did at all venture forth into the light of publicity, it found its expression in song, that is, in lyric poetry. In the estimation of antiquity the letter at all times was a branch of the "Belles Lettres." It is small wonder, therefore, that rhetorics, which undertook to regulate all literary activity, extended its claims to letter-writing, and formulated its rules and schematisms. There are unmistakable traces of this influence of the school even in the correspondence of Cicero.

Still more did this influence extend to the official correspondence. As early as the fourth century B.C., rhetoricians were employed for these "Reports"; the letters of the General Timotheos were written by the famous teacher and orator Isocrates, and there must have been a "Style of the Chancelleries" closely resembling that of modern times.

Of course, under the school influence, letter-writing began to leave the firm ground of actuality. Just as the class rooms resounded with declamations on the most unlikely topics, so the letter form was used for purposes least germane to it. The itinerant rhetor Aristides in the second century A.D. masked an eulogy of Alexander the Great in the guise of a letter. In the same manner letters were used to set forth ³⁷certain phases of history, and, to give them greater weight, were ascribed to some great contemporary of the era referred to. This finally grew into simple forgery. For many centuries the Letters of Phalaris were venerated as one of the most valuable documents of ancient civilization, and it required the full strength of the genius of a Richard Bentley to explode this myth.

The "Didactic Epistle," on the other hand, grew out of the Dialogue.¹ Since Socrates had developed the teaching of philosophy in the form of question and answer, and long even after the systematic mind of Aristotle had discarded this form of disquisition as incompatible with strict and straight reasoning, it was the fashion to clothe theories in this form of the Dialogue, which under the hands of an artist like Plato became one of the most delightful products of literature. But when philosophy was no longer confined to one place, and when the schools had opened branches in many cities, letters became the means of establishing and maintaining a communion among the scattered members of the school. Epicurus² was the first to use the letter for this purpose, with a clear insight into its literary possibilities, so much so that he, the enemy of all rhetorical embellishment, yet in these letters applied the rules of rhetorical theory laid down by Isocrates.

It was not long before men collected the letters of the school heads in order to unite their utterances into a system. Furthermore, it was only natural that philosophers should exchange their views, and so philosophical disputations were soon clothed in the form of a correspondence between the two disputants.

From the field of philosophy the teaching by letter was extended to other branches of learning, at first without any claim to literary distinction. On the other hand, the moralizing letter, which of all ancient literary expression comes closest to our sermon, very naturally came — and stayed — under the influence of the precepts of rhetorics. This was introduced to the Romans by the Stoic Posidonius, an older contemporary of Cicero, and from that

¹ R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*.

² H. Usener, *Epicurea*.

time on the Romans became, and remained, the classical nation for the literary letter.

While thus the influence of the schools of eloquence upon the development of the letter style cannot be too highly estimated, the rhetoricians drew up theories only for the "Letter of Communication," in conscious approach to the laws of the Dialogue. For, as one of the oldest theorists ¹ of letter-writing says: the letter is but a halved dialogue. For this reason its tone must be that of refined conversation, more carefully thought out, indeed, than that of the dialogue, because the former is a product of reflection, while the latter is, in appearance, improvised. The letter, furthermore, shall be brief, concise, uninterrupted by question and answer, and without the carefully balanced periodic sentence structure of other literature. On the other hand, it may be embellished by frequent quotations from proverbs, and in both tone and contents the first consideration must be to adapt it to the character of the addressee.

This theory found much attention in Rome, as is evidenced by the statements made by Cicero. In one place ² he distinguishes between the careful tone of official correspondence and the freer one of private letters. It was but natural that Cicero during his rhetorical studies should feel attracted to this field also, and we actually find in his letters a clear tabulation of the possible letter forms. He distinguishes in the first place ³ between *litterae publicae* and *privatae*, and between those which are meant for the eye of only one person and those written with a view toward the attention of a wider public. These are dis-

¹ Artemon (second century, B.C.).

² *De Oratore*, II, 49.

³ *Pro Flacco*, 87.

tinguished even by the superscription,¹ which in the case of confidential correspondence gives merely the cognomen of the addressee, and is free and easy both in tone and content.² It employs the *sermo cotidianus*, and should be marked by the *iocatio*,³ that is, a chatty character which never dwells to any length on any one topic. In another place,⁴ the letters are divided according to content into (A) the communication of news;

(B) the *genus familiare et iocosum* — written in happy circumstances;

(C) the *genus severum et grave* — written during times of misfortune,

(1) letters merely conveying expression of consolation.

(2) letters expressing both consolation and promises of aid.

Beyond this division the later theorists did not go either. Even Quintilian in his *Institutiones*⁵ is satisfied to say of the letter that it must be in *oratio soluta*, that is, the strict laws of Hiatus and Rhythmic Close⁶ pervading ancient oratory and history have no place in the private correspondence.

CICERO'S LETTERS

The correspondence of Cicero, as we have it, may be said to consist of two parts. One is official, the other is private. These letters differ not so much in their contents, for many topics of public interest, which properly belong to official correspondence, are also discussed in the private

¹ *Fam.* XV, 21, 4.

² *Fam.* IX, 21, 1.

³ *Ibidem.*

⁴ *Fam.* II, 4, 1; IV, 13, 1; VI, 10, 4.

⁵ IX, 4, 19.

⁶ E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, II, Appendix.

letters, especially in those to Atticus, and in the series of reports on the conditions in Rome made by Caelius,¹ and in those letters, which, while ostensibly addressed to personal friends, are in reality political pamphlets meant for the public, such as Cicero's letter to Quintus on the administration of Asia.² The difference of the two kinds is much more in their style. The former group approaches closely to the style of the *Orations*, both in the periodic construction of the sentence and in the choice and puristic language. The intimate letters to friends, on the other hand, are written in terse and exceedingly simple sentences, often brief to the form of enigmatic allusions, and spiced with quotations and Greek expressions.

It is these private letters which constitute the charm of the collection. They are, indeed, of the greatest value for the historian, who finds in them numerous details of the undercurrents and intrigues which the more pretentious works on history disdain to embody. Here every political move in Rome is discussed with the utmost frankness, and with the intimate knowledge of the men who were themselves the makers of the events which pass before us in an ever changing panorama. But far more deeply than this contribution to our knowledge of facts does the human element in these letters grip our hearts. We see Cicero and his friends at the dinner table,³ enjoying the simple repast, which they season with the spice of their wit. We see him in the country,⁴ enjoying the peace of his retreat, which is enhanced by his studious retirement to his beloved poets and philosophers. We see him building one of those charming villas which he calls the "apple of the eye"

¹ *Fam.* VIII.

³ *Fam.* IX, 26.

² *Q.* I, 1.

⁴ *Fam.* IX, 22.

(*ocellus*)¹ of Italy, furnishing his library with exquisite statuary,² and supervising the learned slaves of his friend Atticus while they are arranging his books on their shelves.³ We see him again on board ship,⁴ or in his litter,⁵ busy writing down the fleeting impressions of the moment. Or we listen to him, as he tries to smooth over the many bickerings between his brother and his sister-in-law,⁶ and corrects his son and his nephew, over whose education he was watching with anxious care. We are taken into the most intimate life of his family, watching the gradual estrangement from his first wife, the companion of his rise and greatness for a generation. We share with him in his terrible grief at the loss of a favorite daughter. Most lovable of all, we see him a kind friend of the lowly, the slaves, and freedmen, as in the series of letters written to his confidential secretary Tiro, when he fell ill during their homeward journey from Asia. No manual of antiquities, no treatise on the private life of the Romans, no "Gallus," can surpass these letters in the insight which they give us both into the life and conditions of a Roman of the highest rank, and again into the conditions of the street rabble in Rome, clamoring for "panem et circenses," ready to sell their vote to the highest bidder, and willing to use fists and clubs in the pay of some unscrupulous party leader.⁷ Unrivalled in their kind, these letters are worthy of a place next to the great letter classics of modern times, and though intended only for the moment, they are as truly a "treasure forever" as the history of the Peloponnesian

¹ *Att.* XVI, 6, 2.

³ *Att.* IV, 4 a, 1.

⁵ *Att.* XV, 18.

² *Att.* I, 4, 3.

⁴ *Att.* XVI, 7.

⁶ *Att.* I, 5, 2.

⁷ *Att.* I, 16, 5.

War, for which its author Thucydides so proudly claims this distinction.

The first place among the correspondents is naturally due to Cicero's family, and first of all to his wife,

Terentia. Belonging to a rich family, she had married Cicero about 80, when he was comparatively unknown. Of pure morals and strong character, she undoubtedly contributed much to the success of her husband, to whom she bore two children, a daughter Tullia, and a son Marcus. The correspondence with Terentia fills the fourteenth book and forms one of the most pathetic pictures of all ages. It opens during Cicero's exile (58-57). Here we see the rôles of man and woman completely reversed. Cicero shows himself unmanly, in spite of many blustering protestations to the contrary,¹ in ever changing mood, cast from buoyant hope into the shadow of deep despair and again raised sky-high in his expectations. Terentia, on the other hand, is steadfast, cool, businesslike,² perhaps fortified by her innate piety,³ full of devices to further her husband's restoration, and self-sacrificing to the extreme.

After a long pause, the correspondence is resumed during Cicero's return from Cilicia. But the tone is changed to coolness. For some years Cicero, whose financial genius was not overstrong, and who loved to spend regardless of means, had been galled by the almost New England thriftiness of his wife. He had begun to suspect her of looking out for herself, a purpose for which she used the efficient service of a freedman, named Philotimus,⁴ whom Cicero abominated. When, in 49, the orator, as *praefectus orae maritimae*, went to southern Italy in the interest of the

¹ *Fam.* XIV, 1, 5; 3, 5; 4, 3.

² *Fam.* XIV, 1, 3; 2, 2; 4, 5.

³ *Fam.* XIV, 1, 1; 4, 1.

⁴ *Att.* VI, 4, 3.

Pompeians, he left his wife with his sister-in-law, Pompeia, but later made her go to their estates in Campania, where she stayed during the Greek campaign. This period saw the break completed. Cicero very coolly assured Terentia that he saw no reason why she should meet him at Brundisium,¹ and all the letters written after his return are cold and short. In September, 47, the last extant letter was written, brutal in its studied impoliteness. Early in the next year the two were divorced.

Next, or in Cicero's affections undoubtedly before his wife, comes his daughter,

Tullia. She had been highly educated and became her father's intimate companion and the sharer of his inmost thoughts. At the age of fifteen she married C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, of a very noble family, who died in 57, shortly before his father-in-law returned from exile. The next year she became the wife of Furius Crassipes, from whom she was soon divorced. While Cicero was in Cilicia, she was induced to marry for the third time. The chosen husband was P. Cornelius Dolabella, of the highest aristocracy, who wanted her hand from political and financial reasons. The marriage was most unhappy, since Dolabella continued his spendthrift and immoral life. But as he was on most intimate terms with Caesar, an open rupture seemed inadvisable. Finally, late in 46, Tullia obtained a divorce, but died soon after (February, 45), on the Tusculan estate of her father, from the consequences of childbirth. While we have no letters from or to Tullia, we owe to her death a number of expressions of condolence, the most famous among which is the letter written by Ser. Sulpicius.²

¹ *Fam.* XIV, 12.

² *Fam.* IV, 5.

Marcus, the only son, was about fourteen years younger than his sister. He, too, was dearly beloved by his father, who personally watched over the boy's education and took him along to Cilicia when he went there as governor. During the Civil War he stayed with his father and witnessed Pharsalus. In 45, he went to Athens to complete his studies. Here, however, he fell in with bad company — his father had made him the lavish allowance of \$4000 a year — and he became addicted to drink. Recrimination and reproaches led to promises of reform,¹ without having lasting effect. The young man liked a military career better than the peaceful pursuit of his studies, and in 44 at once joined M. Brutus.² For his father's sake the new ruler pardoned him, and in 30, the year of Antony's defeat at Actium, fate had put him in the consular office. But he could not overcome his vice and died ingloriously a few years later.

Of Cicero's remoter family, his only brother,

Quintus, seems to have been the most beloved. He was the inseparable companion of his brother's studies,³ though less of an oratorical than of a literary bend.⁴ He had married the sister of Cicero's most intimate friend, Pomponius Atticus, a marriage which the orator hoped should bring the two friends still more closely together. But Pomponia's short temper was matched by her husband's irascibility. Quarrel followed quarrel, in spite of the constant good offices of both Cicero and Atticus. In 45 the couple separated. From 61 to 59 Quintus was propraetor of Asia, an office which he tried to fill with great honesty, but of which his shortsighted vanity and his

¹ *Fam.* XVI, 21.

³ *Ad Q.* I, 3, 3.

² *Ad Brut.* II, 3, 6.

⁴ *Ad Q.* II, 15, 4.

quick temper made a fearful mess, which called forth the famous letter on the administration of provinces by his brother.¹ Later he went first to Sardinia as legatus of Pompey, but at Caesar's invitation joined him in Gaul in 54. Here he fought with great distinction.² In 51 he accompanied his brother to Cilicia, nominally as legatus, in reality as his chief of staff. In this capacity he directed his brother's successful campaign against the mountaineers. With Marcus he joined the Pompeians and, after Pharsalus, went to Patrae in Greece. His son, Quintus, had in the meanwhile become a rabid Caesarian. Through him, a reconciliation between the dictator and his old subordinate was effected. Later on, after Caesar's assassination, young Quintus experienced a change of heart and became a republican.³ The second triumvirate proscribed both father and son, and they were killed together, each begging to end his life before the other.

No picture of Cicero's domestic life would be complete without mentioning his relations to

M. Tullius Tiro. Tiro was probably born a slave in his master's house (*verna*), and had been carefully educated by Cicero, who appreciated his precocious genius, and made him his confidential secretary. In 53 he received his liberty, an event hailed with joy by the whole family.⁴ He accompanied his patron to Cilicia. But his delicate health—he suffered from chronic stomach trouble—broke down during this stay, and on the homeward journey he had to be left behind at Patrae, in the house of a Greek by the name of Lyson, and under the protection of a Roman banker, Curius. To this illness we owe a number

¹ *Ad. Q.* I, 1.

² *B. G.* V, 38 ff.

³ *Att.* XV, 21, 1; XVI, 5, 2.

⁴ *Fam.* XVI, 16.

of precious letters on Cicero's part,¹ revealing the heartfelt anxiety of the elder man for his younger friend, and a veritable ray of light in the otherwise so gloomy impression of ancient slavery. Later on, Tiro became a landed proprietor on a small scale, on which occasion young Marcus wrote him a bantering letter,² showing how Tiro had endeared himself even to this light-headed youth. He survived his master by many years, and devoted the latter days of his life to the upkeep of Cicero's memory. Incidentally he is also known to us as the inventor of a system of shorthand writing, the so-called *Notae Tironianae*. For his share in collecting the correspondence of his patron, see below.

Friends Cicero had many. His frequent appearance in court, his political career, his inexhaustible thirst for information, and the real need he felt of communing with kindred spirits,—all these circumstances combined to make him one of the most sought-after men of his age. But while he formed many acquaintances, he seems to have been truly intimate with a few men only. And this, too, is probably due to the character of the man. Warm-hearted and easily impassioned, strongly sensitive both of praise and blame, a child of his moods, Cicero must have often broken with those whom he had at first approached with open arms. Nothing is more characteristic of this than his attitude toward Pompey. After first taking the part of the absent general in his speech for the Manilian Bill, he expected from Pompey an everlasting gratitude. When he achieved the crowning glory of his life in the oppression of the Conspiracy, he believed himself in good earnest able to realize the dream expressed by him in the

¹ *Fam.* XVI, 1-11.

² *Fam.* XVI, 21.

speeches of that year: one man, a general, to subdue the world, the other, in the garb of peace, to lead the harmonious citizens at home. "I wanted you to be Scipio, with me as your Laelius," he wrote to Pompey.¹ But Pompey stiffly refused to be drawn into any such alliance. And when, after his return from the East, the rapprochement between Pompey and Caesar did take place, what scorn did not Cicero heap on this "Sampsiceramus" and his Oriental pompousness?² A few years passed. Cicero had gone into exile, and in his letters to his intimates he hinted plainly enough that he ascribed the punishment less to the intrigues of his enemies than to the lukewarmness of those — and he means Pompey — who envied him his glory.³ But when he had been recalled, his heart swelled with overflowing gratitude for the man to whom he ascribed the chief merit. Eight years later he was again torn by conflicting emotions. No kind of a commander, a block-head, a deserter,⁴ — these are but a few of the insults he hurls at Pompey, because he refused to sustain the war against Caesar in Italy itself. Soon, however, his mood changed. He had now made up his mind to join Pompey in Greece, and as time progressed the fallen hero became to him almost deified in his republican simplicity and honesty.

It is then all the more remarkable that through all his vicissitudes Cicero retained the love of some friends. Chief among these is

T. Pomponius Atticus (109–32). This man, like Cicero, of equestrian rank, had become acquainted with the orator

¹ *Fam.* V, 7, 3.

² *Att.* II, 16; 2 *et passim*.

³ *Att.* III, 7, 2.

⁴ *Att.* VII, 13, 1; VIII, 3, 3, 4; VIII, 7, 2.

while both were young men, and their growing intimacy had ripened when both heard philosophical lectures at Athens (79). But if it ever was true that opposite poles attract each other, it is true in the case of this friendship. A greater contrast is hardly imaginable than existed between the two men. Cicero was impulsive, warm-hearted, open-handed, an idealist who followed the teachings of Plato, full of forensic and political ambition. Atticus was first and foremost a hard-headed business man, who loaned money on high interest, gained large profits from his publishing ventures, and was not above the maxim that money, no matter how gained, "*non olet*." Thus he trained and hired out bands of gladiators.¹ In philosophy he followed the quietistic teaching of Epicurus.² Political ambition he had so little, that he refused to be drawn into any participation in public affairs, and was satisfied with his equestrian position. He even warned Cicero not to seek an alliance with the nobility by his daughter's marriage: "Return to your own sheepfold," he wrote to him.³ To avoid the danger of being forced into a clearly defined position, he settled in Athens during the rule of Sulla, and did not return to Rome until about 58 B.C. It was this long stay abroad which earned for him his cognomen. During his residence in Greece he had acquired large wealth, which he partly invested in productive estates in Epirus (his Amaltheum near Buthrotum is the best known). After his return to Rome he lived a life of intellectual leisure, partly in the capital, partly on his estates, the friend, and often the confidant, of men of all parties. Even during the Civil War and after the death of Caesar he knew how

¹ *Att.* IV, 4a, 2.

² *Fam.* XIII, 1, 5.

³ *Att.* VI, 1, 10.

to guard his neutrality, and finally died, eighty-one years old, as his biographer, Nepos, tells us, a voluntary death by starvation in order to escape the pains of an incurable disease.

Yet he was Cicero's most intimate friend, before whom the man had no secret. "I talk with you as if I were soliloquizing,"¹ is the expression Cicero himself uses of their correspondence. When the danger from Clodius became imminent, it was to Atticus that Cicero appealed for his advice and his influence. During the exile, Atticus worked indefatigably for the recall of his friend, and assisted the wife and children in more material fashion. Cicero, nevertheless, sometimes requited this zeal with reproaches as to lukewarmness and deceit. The nearer the great crisis in Cicero's life, the Civil War, approached, the more Cicero's letters to Atticus resemble the confidences of the confessional. With the exception of St. Augustine's Confessions, I doubt whether ever a soul has laid itself so bare before our eyes as Cicero's does in the Atticus letters of these days. He even kept his friend's letters in a box, and went to them in the stillness of the night for consolation and comfort.² Not only did Atticus act as the spiritual adviser of his friend, but also in a more practical capacity as his banker. It is he to whom Cicero first darkly hints,³ then openly tells,⁴ of the manipulations of Philotimus. Atticus took care that Cicero could pay his debts, and when the elderly man had been inveigled into a second marriage with Publilia, a young girl, and was anxious to rid himself of her, he applied again to Atticus. Atticus also acted as his friend's purchasing agent,

¹ *Att.* VIII, 14, 2.

² *Att.* IX, 10, 4.

³ *Att.* VI, 4, 3; 5, 2.

⁴ *Att.* VII, 1, 9.

bought pictures, statues, and books for him, and took care that these were becomingly placed.

Thus the letters from Cicero to Atticus, evidently published by the latter himself (see below), are the most important treasure trove for those who really want to understand Cicero. Unfortunately, between these two, the merest allusion was sufficient, and so it happens that many passages in these letters will, possibly forever, remain unsolved riddles.

Two other men among the correspondents of Cicero deserve more than a passing mention. Both were considerably younger than the orator.

M. Caelius Rufus was the son of a wealthy knight from Puteoli. His father, who wished him to enter political life, attached his son, as was the custom, after the assumption of the virile toga, to a prominent statesman, and his choice fell on Cicero, with whom the youth stayed for three years. He left him and became a man about town, and a sympathizer of Catiline. It was during this time that he became acquainted with the notorious Clodia, a woman of great beauty, wit, and intellect, who, by no means chary of her charms, attached to herself the nobility of both birth and genius. Among her lovers was the greatest lyric poet of Rome, Catullus, whose adventures with her have become immortalized in his songs. She is the Lesbia of his poems. Caelius, however, after a time wearied of her charms, and angered at this, Clodia concocted a criminal prosecution against him, accusing him of having tried to poison her. Cicero appeared as one of the counsel for the defense and bitterly attacked her, the sister of his arch-enemy Clodius, in a speech still extant (*Pro Caelio*). When in 51 Cicero was compelled to un-

dertake the governorship of Cilicia, he asked Caelius to keep him *au courant* of the news of Rome.¹ Thus it comes that we have a whole book (VIII) filled with his letters. There are not many among the correspondents of Cicero who observed as well, and knew how to tell what they saw as well, as this young man of the world. In his letters we hear the *chronique scandaleuse* of the capital,² but we also read many a shrewd and prophetic judgment on the leading politicians of the time.³ During this year Caelius was aedile. As such he had charge of the public games, and it is characteristic of the *insouci* of the man that he did not scruple to ask Cicero to have the provincials hunt panthers for his shows.⁴ No less remarkable is the soft, jesting way in which Cicero turns down the request, which he could not well grant without oppressing his charges. "Hearing of your games," he writes, "all the panthers have emigrated."⁵ During the Civil War, after hesitating for a while, Caelius joined Caesar at Ravenna, and did what he could, though in vain, to draw Cicero over to his side.⁶ This political difference practically put an end to their correspondence, though there is one letter extant, in which Caelius seems to recant, perhaps, because his ambitions had been disappointed. At any rate, he declares himself a bitter enemy of the new monarch.⁷ He embarked upon the wildly socialistic scheme of dividing among the people the property of the rich, but, deserted both by the metropolitan rabble and by the free towns of Italy, he tried to arouse the slaves and was slain by Caesar's horsemen near Thurii at the age of thirty-four.

¹ *Fam.* VIII, 1, 1; II, 8, 1.

² *Fam.* VIII, 7, 2.

³ *Fam.* VIII, 4, 2; 6, 1; 10, 3.

⁴ *Fam.* VIII, 9, 3.

⁵ *Fam.* II, 11, 2.

⁶ *Fam.* VIII, 16.

⁷ *Fam.* VIII, 17.

The second friend was

C. Trebatius Testa. Born at Ulubrae in the Pomptine marshes, he had become very proficient in the knowledge of law, and undoubtedly frequently assisted Cicero in the preparation of his cases. But he was poor, and so Cicero sent him in 54 with a letter of introduction¹ to Caesar in Gaul, to join the *cohors praetoria* of the victorious general. However, his high-flying hopes were soon dashed to the ground. He disliked the cold northern climate, and found in Caesar only the soldier, not the Maecenas whom he had expected. It took all of Cicero's perseverance to make him stay,² and once or twice the orator even lost his temper and roundly rebuked³ his young friend for his fickleness. Otherwise, the correspondence with Trebatius is an unalloyed source of joy to the reader. Joke follows joke, raillery, raillery. It is evident that Cicero was exceedingly fond of the young man. "Believe me," he says, "one short walk with you here in Rome is worth all the Gallic laurels."⁴ In the end, Trebatius became, and steadfastly remained, Caesar's friend. He lived to a ripe old age, an acknowledged authority in legal lore, and is mentioned last by Horace, who dedicated to him the first satire of the second book.

THE EXTANT COLLECTION⁵

The letters contained in the present Corpus of Cicero's correspondence number 864, of which 774 were written by himself. An equal number of his letters seems to have

¹ *Fam.* VII, 5.

² *Fam.* VII, 6, 1; 8, 1.

³ *Fam.* VII, 13, i; 17, i.

⁴ *Fam.* VII, 11, 2.

⁵ In general, cp. H. Peter, *Der Brief in der Antiken Litteratur*, *Abh. Saechs. Ges.* V, 20.

been lost, so that the whole correspondence would have consisted of about 1600 letters, written during a life of sixty-three years, not a very large number in comparison with the voluminous correspondence of many a modern statesman. As we have them, they fall into four divisions :

Ad Familiares, 16 books.

Ad Atticum, 16 books.

Ad Quintum Fratrem, 3 books, and the so-called *Commentariolum Petitionis*.

Ad Brutum, 2 books.

Of these divisions, the first is at present a rather disordered collection. The title itself is not found in our manuscripts and was unknown to the ancient scholars, who quote only single books by the name of a single addressee, as *Ad Marium*, *Ad Appium*. The title, nevertheless, is convenient to denote the whole mass, and has therefore come into general use. The individual books of the collection bear individual titles, after the addressee of the first letter in them. The thirteenth book forms a distinct unit, not only in size — it is much longer than any of the others — but also in content. It contains letters to many persons, all commendatory. Furthermore, the persons mentioned in them are, for the most part, nonentities, none too closely acquainted with the writer. It is thus evident that neither the regard for the addressee nor for the people mentioned has led to the collections of these letters. Now, it happens that we read in the correspondence with Atticus,¹ that in 44 Cicero's freedman, Tiro, contemplated a collection of his master's letters, of which he had already some seventy, and that Cicero thinks a few others ought to be taken from among those in Atti-

¹ *Att.* XVI, 5, 5.

cus's possession. He cannot very well refer to the very body of letters now forming the collection *Ad Atticum*. It seems, therefore, probable that he refers to just such a gathering as Book XIII represents, and that the interest leading to the bringing together of the seventy-nine letters in this book was a purely æsthetic one. They were meant to serve as a collection of model recommendations, a purpose which they very happily fulfill in their great variety of tone and wording. Besides XIII, XIV and XVI, too, are distinctly different from the rest. XIV contains the letters to Terentia, XVI those to Tiro, including three by Quintus and one by young Marcus. It seems evident that nobody but Tiro himself can have had an interest in these latter notes, while XIV can have been accessible only to a person intimately related to the writer's household. The assumption is pretty certain, therefore, that at least these three books were collected by Tiro shortly before, and after, Cicero's death.

The other books seem to have been collected partly from a purely historical point of view, looking toward the representation of Cicero in as favorable light as possible, partly from the same point of view combined with the æsthetic standpoint, as models of style. Of these I-IX and XV originally seem to have closed with the year 44, before the break between Cicero and Octavian, while X-XII give important documents for contemporary history, characterized by the freedom with which Caesar is judged. It would seem, then, that I-IX, XIII, XIV, XVI were collected and published by Tiro, who survived his master for many years. A later editor, probably identical with the editor of the present collection *Ad Atticum*, added X-XII and XV, and those other letters transcending the original

limiting date, and issued the whole collection in the form in which it has come down to us. Tiro is also in all probability the editor of the letters *Ad Quintum*.

In marked contrast to the *Ad Familiares*, the collection *Ad Atticum* presents a uniform, well-planned arrangement in almost undisturbed chronological order, with the exception of books XII and XIII. As the letters do not present any features of literary style, they cannot have been collected for æsthetic purposes. Now, the historian Nepos in his biography of Atticus¹ states that he saw in the library of his friend eleven books of letters written by Cicero, "a consulatu usque ad extremum tempus." Whatever he may have seen, his description does not fit our collection in its present shape. Its first twelve letters antedate the year 63, no letter from this year is in existence, and the latest letter in the collection was written in December, 44, ten months before the death of Cicero. On the other hand, all quotations in ancient writers lead to the extant collection, and we can only assume that Atticus had arranged the letters of his friend in book form, but left directions to his literary executors to destroy a certain number of letters which were likely to give political offense. That he himself was the editor, seems impossible in view of the conditions in XII and XIII. The only explanation for the confusion in these books is that the very short, and mostly undated, notes in them were not glued together in book form, but were simply stacked, so that disarrangement was an easy matter. The final editor found all indications of their order wanting. Had Atticus himself prepared these notes for publication, it is unlikely that the man who retained all his faculties to his dying

¹ *Att.* ch. 16.

day should have suffered from such grave lapses of memory. Necessarily the letters cannot have been given to the public before his death, 32 B.C. As we find them first quoted in the writings of the younger Seneca,¹ while the commentator of Cicero's speeches, Asconius, in 54 A.D. does not yet refer to them, it appears highly probable that the collection was published around 60 A.D., simultaneously with the final revision of the *Ad Familiares*, and perhaps by the same editor.

At this time also the collection *Ad Brutum* may have been published. This is but a very meager remnant of the original Corpus, which contained nine books, of which our letters seem to have been the last two.

Of the numerous MANUSCRIPTS the two of greatest value are both in the Florentine Library, and are therefore known as the Medicei (M). The letters *Ad Atticum*, *Quintum*, *Brutum*, were discovered by the poet Petrarca in Verona in 1345, and the present M is a copy of that manuscript made for the scholar Coluccio Salutato. Salutato himself in 1389 discovered the letters *Ad Familiares* at Vercelli, and this manuscript together with a copy made for Salutato is in Florence.

Of the many editions, after the *Princeps*, which appeared in 1470 both in Rome and Venice, the most important are those of Orelli-Baiter, 1845-1862, Mendelssohn, Leipzig, 1893, and Tyrrell-Purser, Dublin, 1879 foll., just now in process of reëditing.

¹ *Ad Lucilium*, 97, 118.

WRITING A LETTER IN ANTIQUITY¹

Letters were written in ancient times on wooden tablets (*codicilli*), the inner surface of which was surrounded by a raised edge, and covered with wax (*cera*) into which the characters were scratched (*exarare*) with a copper pencil (*stilus*). The tablets were then folded, wound around with a cord (*linum*), and sealed with wax or a special clay (*creta*), marked with an impression of the writer's seal (*signum*). This cumbersome way of writing gradually fell into disuse, and was kept up only for hasty notes, or for writing the first draft of a letter. Even for this latter purpose it had probably largely gone out of use in the time of Cicero, and had been replaced by more convenient materials, namely parchment (*Pergamena*), which was never used for letters but only for drafts, and the paper made from the papyrus reed (*charta*). This reed grows in Sicily and in the lowlands of Egypt.

With a sharp instrument its stem was split into strips and these were laid crosswise on a wooden board, in the fashion of a fabric (*contexere*), and glued together, until sheets (*plagula*, *schida*) of the desired size, varying from sixteen to twenty-four centimeters in width and about thirty-three centimeters in height, were formed. These were then smoothed and, when used, were written upon with pen (*calamus*) and ink (*atramentum*). If more than one sheet was needed, they were pasted together along the margin. The address was written across the reverse side. The finished letter was rolled up, tied with the linen cord, and sealed.

¹ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, s.v. *Brief*.

It was customary to make a first draft of every letter. Very rarely, and usually among very close friends, the original writing was sent. Ordinarily, either the writer himself or one of his secretaries (*a manu, ad manum*) made a careful copy, and kept the draft, which was deposited in the domestic archive. Cicero rarely allowed himself the services of a copyist, but wrote his letters with his own hand, except when he was in a great hurry and dictated the letter while walking or dining. Important letters were often sent in several copies (*exemplum*) and by divers routes, like our transatlantic bills of exchange, in order to insure their safe delivery.

As there was no regular mail service, letters were carried by a friend of the writer, — prominent men would send around before setting out on a journey and ask whether there were any letters, — or by one's own slaves, frequently by the letter carriers (*tabellarii*) of the tax farmers, who traveled a great deal. At the best their delivery was uncertain and their secrecy never assured. Cicero often adverts to the dangers from highwaymen, and to the prying eyes of strangers, but was himself not innocent of the latter crime. Where secrecy was paramount, the writer took refuge in allusions, in the omission of names, in substituting pseudonyms, or the letter was written in Greek, or in Latin with Greek characters. For the transport letters were put up in bags (*fasciculi*).

The addressee on his part used to deposit the letters which he received in his own archive. Where there was frequent or regular correspondence, the letters were pasted together in the form of book rolls (*volumen*) and thus preserved. Cicero himself did this with the letters of his friend Atticus. Dangerous letters, therefore, often closed

with the request that the addressee would destroy the missive after reading.

In form the letter varied considerably from ours. Place and date were not always given, and, when given, they were placed at the end of the letter, the place either in the ablative or in the locative case, or they were embodied in the context of the letter at its beginning. This proceeding is on a par with the rule of literary writing which barred our convenient but inartistic footnotes. The place of the signature was taken by the address to the recipient (*superscriptio*), which might, however, be entirely omitted. Where given it contained the name of the addressee in the dative case preceded by the name of the writer in the nominative. To this might be added the words "salutem" or "salutem plurimam dicit," usually abbreviated in the form S. (P.) D. It was customary to give the full name of the addressee, except in cases of great familiarity, when the cognomen alone was deemed sufficient. In formal or official letters both writer and addressee were fully named, sometimes with an additional reference to ancestry, and with the title of the official position added.

The body of the letter either opened directly with the chief topic or it began — so always in official letters — with a formula of greeting: S(i) V(ales) B(ene) E(st), or S. V. B. E. E(go) V(aleo). Letters to very intimate friends or to members of one's own household usually closed with a valedictory word: V(ale), vale et salve, cura ut valeas, and so forth. Letters to strangers, on the other hand, usually closed abruptly without any such polite phrase.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE LETTERS

From what has been said above¹ about the ancient theory of letter-writing, we may expect to find on the one hand a marked difference from the language and style employed by Cicero in his literary productions, including his speeches, and on the other hand, stylistic differences among the various letters. Official reports, such as the letter to the Senate on the Amanus campaign,² or letters which are in reality pamphlets for publication, like that to Marius,³ approach much more closely to the literary form than do the letters to the writer's intimate friends. But even in these, true to the maxim that the letter shall adapt itself to the character of the person addressed and to the subject-matter, dissimilarities may be detected. The letter bespeaking a literary favor from Luceius⁴ is a highly finished rhetorical product. In the letter to Cato from Cilicia⁵ the writer understands how to play upon the austere soul of the Stoic philosopher. In a letter to Brutus, likewise a Stoic sectarian, Cicero expressly states that he is trying to imitate the extreme brevity characteristic of the recipient. Such a task was all the more easy for Cicero, because he was by nature adaptable to both his surroundings and to the mood of the addressee. Few men possessed in a higher degree the faculty, invaluable in a member of the bar, to "tune their song to the changing musing" of the audiences.

It is in the letters to Atticus, to Trebatius, to Caelius, to Paetus, to Tiro, to Quintus, that we find Cicero's lan-

¹ Introd., p. XIV.

² *F.* XV, 2.

³ *F.* VII, 3.

⁴ *F.* V, 12.

⁵ *F.* XV, 4.

guage and style most closely following the precept that the letter must be conversational, written in the *Sermo Cotidianus*. Even here, however, we must not expect to see too close an approach to the language of the common people. For, after all, it is a man of the highest class, and a man towering head and shoulders above his fellows in breadth of culture, who talks with his social equals.

What is meant by "*Sermo Cotidianus*"? The Latin language, since the third century B.C., had been undergoing a remarkable change. Under the influence of Greek literature poets and prosaists, but especially the former, had been molding the language to their needs. The original flexibility of long and short syllables, the law of accent, which tended to weaken the final syllables, had been consciously neglected, and given way to fixed rules, which for centuries served as a safeguard for the forms, until in the transition to the Romance languages the language of the commoners came again into its own. An ever widening chasm separated the language of the common people from that of literature. Therefore, if we want to know how the Roman tailor and cobbler spoke, we must go for information to the tombstones, the scrawls of idle hands on the walls of buildings, to the comedies of Plautus, and to the novel of Petronius.

The *Sermo Cotidianus*, we find, expresses very faithfully the soul of the people. It is *unprogressive*, that is, it clings to forms which have been rejected by literature, so-called Archaisms. On the other hand, it is easily swayed by *innovations* and adopts new forms without carefully weighing their conformance to linguistic laws. It is *direct*, and therefore favors in syntax a freer use of cases, adverbs, and prepositions. It also neglects the formal

laws of mode, interchanging, for the sake of expressiveness, indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. For the same reason it leans to coördination rather than subordination.

It is prone to *exaggeration*, in both directions, as well aggrandizing its statements as emphasizing the littleness. These expressions, as well as *exclamations*, are also frequently used to give vent to *emotionalism*, which cannot suppress its feelings. It is furthermore *concrete*, and abhors abstracts, and for the same reason it is prone to *metaphors*, *comparisons*, and *proverbs*, which serve to stimulate the memory. Memory is also worked on by *alliterating expressions*. In its eagerness to drive home its point the popular language inclines to *pleonasms*. Lastly, it is *dramatic*, in so far as it imitates the style of actual conversation, and therefore is full of questions and answers. The same effect is produced by the numerous *ellipses*, especially of infinitives and copulas. Like many people of small culture it also likes to deck itself with foreign feathers, and loves dearly the use of words and phrases taken from a foreign language.

All these peculiarities — softened and mitigated, of course, by the author's high culture — are found again in the letters. They have been adverted to in the notes. For the sake of convenience, however, a few of the most salient points may here be grouped under appropriate headings.

1. *Archaisms and Innovations.*

Archaic are: *senati*, F. V, 2, 9; *sumptu* (dative), F. XVI, 4, 2; *reapse*, F. IX, 15, 1; *mi* = *mihi*, A. IV, 8, 2; *meme*, F. XIII, 1, 2; *quicum*, Q. I, 1, 18; F. XII, 18, 2; *cuicui modi*, A. III, 22, 4; F. IV, 7, 4; *illo, hoc, isto* = *illuc, huc, istuc*, A. III, 4, 1; A. VIII, 12 D, 2; F. IX, 16,

9; comedim, F. IX, 20, 3; dicier, F. V, 9, 1; ast = at, A. I, 16, 17; the "Tmesis" of per, F. III, 5, 3.

In syntax we find the indicative in *O.O.* and indirect questions instead of the subjunctive: F. XVI, 24, 2; A. VIII, 12 C, 2; A. XIII, 40, 2; the subjunctive instead of the imperative, A. III, 7, 3; the future in a jussive sense: Q. I, 1, 14; F. XVI, 1, 2; the subjunctive for the indicative, F. IV, 7, 1; the infinitive for an *ut*-clause, F. XV, 4, 13; the present for the future perfect, A. VIII, 3, 2; a passive perfect (*licitum, placitum*) for the active: F. XIV, 4, 5; F. XI, 1, 2.

Among malformations and innovations we notice: the epenthetic vowel in *bal(i)neum*, F. XIV, 20; the plebeian *o* for *au* in *loreola*, A. V, 20, 4; *architectus* instead of *architecton*, F. IX, 2, 5; the metathesis of *arcessit* to *accersit*, Q. II, 3, 4; adverbs in *-iter* from adjectives of the second, A. I, 2, 1; *impunite* = *impune*, F. X, 1, 3; the frequent syncopation of the suffix of the third plural in the perfect stems, especially of verbs of the first conjugation.

Apparently consciously formed by Cicero, with comical intent, are: *facteon*, A. I, 16, 13; *Sullaturit*, A. IX, 10, 6; *Lentulitas*, F. III, 7, 5.

2. Directness in Syntactical Construction.

(a) Freer use of cases, adverbs, prepositions.

The nominative with *usus* and *opus*, F. II, 6, 4.

A partitive genitive with a neuter, instead of the use of the adjective: *id causae*, F. I, 7, 1; an objective genitive instead of *erga*, F. XV, 4, 17; a genitive instead of the nominative after *in mentem venit*, F. VII, 3, 1.

The ethical dative (reference), especially after exclamatory words, F. IX, 2, 1.

The accusative after *iurare*, A. I, 1, 1; two accusatives after verbs of asking, F. IX, 9, 2; an adverb of place *to which* instead of place *where*, A. IX, 18, 1.

The ablative of quality without modifying word, F. VII, 30, 3; a free use of an ablative of time when, using events instead of expressions of time: *ludis*, F. VII, 23, 1; A. I, 16, 17; especially *crass*: *Theatro et spectaculis*, A. II, 19, 3; *par* with ablative instead of dative, F. X, 1, 3.

The adverb is used with *esse* instead of an adjective, A. I, 16, 11; *circumcirca* used as attribute, F. IV, 5, 4 (Sulpicius). On the other hand *proprium* is used as adverb, F. XII, 4, 2.

Especially noteworthy is the use of prepositions instead of case constructions, which gives an almost modern effect: *ab* is used, where the ablative of means would be in place, even where no personification, however slight, is intended: *ab iis*, Q. I, 1, 24; *ab iracundia*, Q. I, 1, 38. This preposition is also used for an ablative of specification, F. XIII, 10, 2 (*Plancus*), or to limit, A. I, 1, 2. *In suffragiis* occurs A. I, 1, 2, either for means or for specification. Stranger still is the ablative phrase as an attribute, F. X, 5, 1, and the use of *ab* instead of the genitive after *inops*, A. I, 1, 2.

(b) Paratactic constructions, namely an independent subjunctive instead of a clause, especially in a jussive sense: A. I, 4, 1, 3; A. I, 16, 18; F. IV, 13, 5; F. V, 18, 1. The asyndeton, also, where not used for rhetorical effect, belongs to this category, as F. VII, 23, 4. Sometimes, as in A. I, 1, 1, we find a noun (*prensatio*) instead of a clause, which at the same time serves to give the impression of brevity.

3. *Exaggerations and Emotionalism.*

(a) The frequentative: the frequentative verbs are

used almost to excess, even where the feeling for their force is entirely absent: A. I, 4, 1; III, 12, 1; F. VII, 16, 2; IX, 16, 7; instead of the periphrastic, A. VIII, 3, 7.

(b) Compounds with *per-* are frequent: F. XIV, 4, 6; A. I, 4, 3. These, too, do not always differ in force from the simple forms, and the same holds good of verbs compounded with *con-*. So also exaggeration is felt in the use of *existimare* = *aestimare*, F. V, 5, 2; IV, 5, 2 (Sulpicius).

(c) Repetition serves for emphasis: *idem et idem*, F. IX, 2, 1; as does Periphrasis in *esse in expectatione* = *expectari* and *expectare*: F. IX, 6, 1; F. X, 5, 4 (Plan-
cus).

(d) Diminutives serve to emphasize littleness, jocosely, modestly, contemptuously. These are more frequent even than the frequentatives: *filiolus*, A. I, 2, 1; *nummuli*, A. I, 16, 6; *voculae*, A. I, 16, 10; *adsentatiuncula*, F. V, 12, 6; *gloriola*, ib. 9; *lectiuncula*, F. VII, 1, 1; *ambulatiuncula*, F. II, 12, 2; such diminutives are formed also from adjectives: *bellus*, A. I, 1, 4; *pulchellus*, A. I, 16, 10; *vetulus*, F. VII, 16, 1; and even from comparatives: *plusculum*, F. V, 12, 3; *putidiusculus*, F. VII, 5, 3; *meliuscule*, F. XVI, 5, 1.

(e) Exclamations emphasize the emotional character of a passage: *narro tibi*, A. II, 11, 1; *amabo te*, F. II, 7, 2; A. VII, 1, 4; XIII, 52, 2; *malum*, A. V, 20, 1.

4. *Concreteness.*

(a) Avoidance of abstracts: *manus* = *auxilium*, A. I, 1, 2; *miliens*, *sescenti* = countless, A. I, 16, 4; A. II, 19, 1; *refrixerit*, A. I, 1, 2; *exprimere* = *reciperare*, A. I, 19, 9.

(b) Metaphor and comparison: *lanista*, A. I, 16, 3; *Areopagitae*, ib. 5; *sentina urbis*, A. I, 19, 4; *plumbeus gladius*, A. I, 16, 2; *venti* = favor, F. II, 6, 4; *locus*

(arena), F. XI, 1, 3; sanguis missus, A. I, 16, 5; hoc habet (arena), A. XII, 1, 2; vela contraxi, A. I, 16, 2; in sordibus relinqui, ib.; quasi de caelo delapsum, Q. I, 1, 7; the ship of state, F. IV, 15, 3.

(c) Proverbs: Crassus (Croesus), A. I, 4, 3; deterior histrio, A. I, 16, 2; τὸ ἐπὶ φακῇ μύρον, A. I, 19, 2; tyrota-richi patina, A. IV, 8, 1; familiam ducere, F. VII, 5, 3; sero sapere, F. VII, 16, 1; meridie non lucet, A. I, 1, 1; operam et oleum, F. VII, 1, 3.

5. *Stimulants to Memory.*

(a) Alliteration: sine fuco et fallaciis, A. I, 1, 1; prae-propere prensare, ib.; operam et oleum, F. VII, 1, 3; amavi amorem, F. IX, 16, 1.

(b) Pleonasm: potius malle, F. XV, 5, 2; crebro ostentare, F. IX, 9, 2.

6. *Brevity.*

Pecuniae (faciendae), Q. I, 1, 8; quadridui (viam abesse), A. III, 7, 1; ne quid (molestius accideret), Q. II, 3, 2; Apollinis (templum), ib. 3; audeo (scribere), F. I, 7, 2; qui urbem (servavit), quem senatus (patrem patriae appellavit), F. II, 10, 2; recepit (in se), F. XVI, 12, 6; cum illo non, A. VIII, 3, 5; quo (eamus), A. IX, 6, 1.

CHRONOLOGY OF CICERO'S LIFE

(With Special Regard to the Letters in this Edition)

106. January 3, Cicero born at Arpinum.

89. Military service during the Bellum Sociale.

81. First judicial speech (*Pro Quinctio*).

80. Defense of Roscius of Ameria, in opposition to Sulla.

79-78. Cicero studies philosophy and oratory in Athens,

Rhodes, and Asia Minor. Under the influence of this study he adopts a simpler style of speaking. During his stay in Athens he forms an acquaintance with T. Pomponius Atticus. About this time he marries Terentia.

76. Cicero as quaestor in Western Sicily. His just administration led to his employment in
70. as prosecutor of Verres, who was accused of extortion and cruelty during his Sicilian governorship.
69. Cicero curule aedile.
66. Cicero praetor urbanus. For the first time he appeared in politics as a supporter of Pompey's election to the command in the Mithradatic War (*De Imperio Pompei* or *De Lege Manilia*). A. I, 4.
- 65-64. Canvass for the consulship. He is drawn more closely toward the Conservatives. A. I, 1; I, 2.
63. Cicero and C. Antonius consuls. He suppressed the Catilinarian conspiracy (*In Catilinam*, I-IV). The Senate called him *pater patriae* (December 5), but the tribune Q. Metellus Nepos forbade his making a speech on the expiration of his term of office and,
62. with the support of the praetor Caesar, continued his attacks. The energetic assistance of the Senate caused Nepos to seek a refuge with Pompey in the East. Pompey, in consequence, adopted a cool attitude toward Cicero. During this year Cicero appeared in defense of the poet Archias (*Pro Archia*). The month of December was marked by the sacrilege of Clodius, who, disguised as a woman, entered Caesar's house dur-

ing the women's festival of the Bona Dea. F. V, 1, 2, 5, 7; VII, 23.

61. During the investigation of this crime Cicero kept neutral, but during the trial itself he was an important witness to disprove the alibi set up by Clodius. With the financial aid of Crassus Clodius secured an acquittal by means of bribery. For this act Cicero pursued him with the bitterest sarcasms and thus made him his relentless enemy. The fall of the year saw Pompey's triumphal entry into Rome, after he had been kept waiting by the hostility of the Senate since January. A. I, 16, 17.
60. Clodius, in order to wreak his vengeance on Cicero, desired to become tribune of the people. This necessitated his transfer from the patrician to the plebeian class, which could not be made without the sanction of a popular assembly. He did not succeed during this year. The harmony between Senate and knights, the bringing about of which in 63 was Cicero's particular boast, was weakened through the attempt of the equestrian financiers to be released from an unfavorable tax-farming contract in Asia, the sensational investigation of the bribery of the Clodius jury, and the alliance between Caesar and Pompey, which led to the forming of the First Triumvirate, consisting of Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey. A. I, 19.
59. Caesar became consul, and in spite of the opposition of his aristocratic colleague, Bibulus, and of the Senate, he had Pompey's eastern measures rati-

fied, an agrarian law passed, and himself made proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul for five years (Lex Vatinia). To save its face the Senate added to this Gallia Narbonensis, across the Alps. The triumvirs made overtures to Cicero, who, however, offended by Pompey's coolness toward him, refused to ally himself with them. With Caesar's support Clodius had achieved his transfer to the plebs and was elected tribune for 58. Cicero foresaw the coming storm, but underrated its threatening aspects. Even when Caesar, who understood the situation better, offered him first an appointment as his legatus in Gaul, and afterwards a *legatio libera*, he rejected this kind offer. Q. I, 1; A. II, 11, 19, 22, 23.

58. Early in this year, Clodius, with the support of the consuls, brought in his bill "*ut qui civem Romanum indemnatum interemisset, ei aqua et igni interdiceretur.*" Although he was not named, Cicero recognized that the bill was aimed at him. He went publicly into mourning, together with numerous supporters, but deserted by Pompey he followed the advice of Hortensius and Cato and left the city before the bill was passed. A new bill "*velitis, iubeatis ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdictum sit*" was passed April 20 with an amendment, providing that the zone of banishment should only extend for four hundred miles from Rome. His Palatine house was plundered, razed, and sold for the public treasury, while part of the area was consecrated for a future *Templum Libertatis*. His estates, too,

were laid in ruins, especially his beloved Tusculanum, and his wife was forced to take refuge with her half-sister, a vestal virgin. Cicero went to Brundisium, via Vibo, Thurii, and Tarentum, but did not avail himself of Atticus's offer of his Amaltheum in Epirus, because he feared the vengeance of the exiled Catilinarians living in that neighborhood. In May he reached Thessalonica, intending to go to Cyzicus in Asia, but in the hope, raised in him by his correspondents in Rome, that the decree of exile might be rescinded, he went no further, and six months later went back to Dyrrhachium on the shores of the Adriatic Sea. F. XIV, 1, 2, 4; A. III, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 19, 22, 25.

57. The new consul, Lentulus, proved friendly to Cicero and so were the new tribunes, as well as Pompey, who had fallen out with Clodius. The attempts of the latter to frighten Cicero's supporters by armed bands were met with like violence, chiefly through Annius Milo. In January, Cicero's banishment was declared illegal by a "senatus auctoritas," and after eight months he was recalled by a unanimous vote of the Comitia Centuriata. Cicero had left Dyrrhachium even before this decree was passed, and landed in Brundisium August 5. His journey from there to Rome was marked by the wildest spontaneous expressions of joy on the part of the Italians, and his entry in Rome, September 4, was like that of a triumphant general. He at once took part in the political discussions, especially the carrying

out of agrarian reforms, and at the same time energetically fought for the restoration of his property, in spite of open and even violent attacks by Clodius. A. III, 26, 27; IV, 1.

56. Because Cicero and his senatorial friends looked upon his recall as a victory for their party, Cicero at first attacked the Triumvirate. The Senate was agitated by the negotiations for the restoration of King Ptolemy Auletes of Egypt, who, driven out by his rebellious subjects, was a refugee in Rome. Partly from motives of gratitude Cicero wished Lentulus, who in 57 had taken the initiative for his recall, and who was now proconsul in Cilicia, to have this lucrative honor. Pompey, however, who was said secretly to covet the commission himself, opposed this move. Furthermore, Cicero found that his brother Quintus, now commissioner of grain supply in Sardinia for Pompey, had pledged Marcus's support for the Triumvirate. Lastly, in the meeting at Luca, the alliance between Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey had been renewed for another five years. In view of these facts, Cicero retired from public life for the time being, grudgingly giving his assistance to the powers that were, when he could not avoid doing so, and devoted himself to forensic and literary activity. His books *De Oratore* and *De Re Publica*, the latter not merely a theoretical treatise, but with a practical end in view, belong to this period. Q. II, 3; F. I, 7; V, 12; A. IV, 8.

55. According to the compact of Luca, Pompey received

the two Spains and Africa for his provinces, but remained in Rome, sending Afranius and Petreius as his representatives. Caesar received again both Gauls to March 1, 49, while Crassus by the end of the year set out for Syria. Cicero spent a large part of the year on his estates near Naples. F. VII, 1.

54. This year marks a closer bond between Caesar and Cicero. The latter's brother Quintus became Caesar's legatus, and a rather intimate correspondence between the general and the orator ensued. The growing intimacy is best revealed in the correspondence with and about Trebatius. At the same time Cicero devoted himself very much to forensic activity of a character not entirely voluntary, as his relations to both Caesar and Pompey burdened him with the disagreeable task of defending personal enemies like Vatinius and Gabinius. F. VII, 5, 6, 7, 10, 16, 17.
53. No consuls were elected until April, so that a series of *interregna* was necessary. Crassus fell in the battle of Carrhae. Thus the danger of a separation between Caesar and Pompey, who were rivals for the sole control of the state, became imminent, all the more as the personal tie formed by Pompey's wife Julia, the daughter of Caesar, had been dissolved in 54 by her death. Cicero believed that Milo, his warm supporter during his exile, was the man to bring safety to the state, and so he worked for Milo's election to the consulate for 52, a candidacy much marked by bloody conflicts between Milo's bands and

those of Clodius, who was a candidate for the praetorship. One of Cicero's cherished ambitions was fulfilled this year, when he was elected a member of the pure-blooded aristocratic body of augurs, in place of the deceased Crassus. F. II, 1, 2, 4, 6; VII, 11; XVI, 16.

52. The beginning of the year was marked by the culmination of the conflict between the two enemies, Clodius and Milo, in which Clodius was killed outside Rome on the Via Appia. Milo was prosecuted (*de vi*), and the sympathies of the populace were so much with his opponents that, though Cicero had the commendable courage to plead for him, he was frightened out of his wits and made a failure of his efforts. Milo went to Marseilles into exile, while Cicero published in written form the defense which he had not dared to deliver. During the riots subsequent upon Clodius's death the Senate had made Pompey virtually dictator by creating him *consul sine collega*. Pompey made his peace with the Senate, married the daughter of the hidebound aristocrat Metellus Scipio, and aimed at Caesar's military power by a bill that henceforth consuls and praetors should receive a governorship only five years after their term of office. Furthermore, nobody should be eligible to such office except while present at Rome. Both provisions struck at Caesar, who was a candidate for the consulship of 48, and at the same time wished to have his command in Gaul extended beyond March 1, 49. At the same time

Pompey's governorship of Spain was prolonged. It is characteristic of Pompey's vacillation that he added a rider to the bill specifically exempting Caesar from the obligation of a personal canvass, a measure which Cicero, at Caesar's personal request, supported. To fill the vacancies in provincial governorships created by the Pompeian bill it was decreed that those ex-officials who had not yet filled such a position should be drawn upon. This applied to Cicero, who was made proconsul of Cilicia and the neighboring provinces, very much against his will. F. V, 18.

51. Early in May Cicero left Rome, sailed about the middle of June from Brundisium *via* Actium for Athens, thence for Ephesus, and reached Laodicea, July 31. His predecessor, Appius Claudius Pulcher, a brother of Clodius, had been very oppressive and the provincials welcomed Cicero very joyously, while Appius showed his pique in many personal slights and chicaneries. Cicero administered his province very equably and justly, delivered it from unwarranted extortions, and, owing to the assistance of his brother, even earned some military laurels in the conquest of the Eleutherocilices, the free mountain tribes in the Tauros, an achievement for which he asked the Senate for a supplicatio. In Rome, meanwhile, matters drifted toward a crisis. The consul Marcellus wished to shorten the term of Caesar's administration, but owing to the determined opposition action was deferred

to March, 50. F. II, 7, 9, 10; III, 2, 5, 6; VIII, 1; A. V, 9, 16, 20.

50. C. Marcellus, successor in the consulship to his cousin, energetically pushed the family policy, but found himself opposed by his colleague Aemilius Paullus and the tribune Curio, who countered Marcellus's bill against Caesar with a bill depriving both Caesar and Pompey of their provinces, a measure adopted but not published in December. Caesar, who had in the meanwhile completed the conquest of the rebellious Gauls, went to Gallia Cisalpina, where Curio met him on December 21 and received from him an ultimatum to be presented to the Senate. Cicero left his province July 30, and reached Brundisium November 24, *via* Ephesus, the Piraeus, and Patrae, where his freedman Tiro had to be left behind in the care of the banker Curius. Cicero desired to have his victories honored by a triumph, but found himself beset by the difficulties of a choice between Caesar and Pompey, both of whom claimed his support. F. II, 11, 12, 14, 15; III, 7, 9; XIV, 5; XV, 4, 5, 6; XVI, 1, 4, 5, 6, 9; A. VII, 1.

49. On January 1 Curio read Caesar's ultimatum, in which the general offered to discharge his army, provided that Pompey would do the same. In reply the Senate ordered him to disband his troops or to be declared a public enemy. The tribunes Antony and Cassius were declared public enemies for interceding against this unjust

decree, and on January 7 left Rome in flight to Caesar, who now declared war by crossing the boundary between Gaul and Italy, the river Rubicon, January 10. On January 4 Cicero had arrived before Rome, but did not enter the city, in order to retain with the imperium the right to a triumph. He tried to effect a compromise, by recommending that Pompey should leave for his Spanish province and Caesar should be allowed to be a candidate for the consulship though absent. Both proposals were rejected. In view of Caesar's rapid advance Pompey and the consuls left for the south January 17. So did Cicero, who had been ordered to guard the coast of Campania, with headquarters at Capua. In order to be able to act as mediator, he resigned this commission, however, and acted only as civil administrator of his district. Here he remained, even when Pompey had summoned him to Brundisium. Caesar in the meantime had defeated and captured the republicans at Corfinium and was hurrying toward Brundisium in the hope of surprising Pompey. He did not fail to renew his attempts, both through intermediaries and in person, of winning Cicero over to his side. But a personal interview at Formiae, March 28, only resulted in mutual estrangement, since Cicero steadfastly refused to give up his friendship for Pompey. After much searching of the heart the orator finally made up his mind, and on June 7 embarked for Greece to join Pompey at Dyrrhachium, where

he arrived after a slow journey, with a lengthy stay on Atticus's estates, toward the end of the year. During this time Caesar had defeated Afranius and Petreius in Spain, had captured Marseilles, had been made dictator, and in December took ship for Greece to press the campaign against Pompey. F. II, 16; VIII, 16; XIV, 7, 12, 14, 18; XVI, 11, 12; A. VIII, 3, 12D, 13; IX, 6, 6A, 10, 11A, 16, 18; X, 8B.

48. After being defeated at Dyrrhachium Caesar gained the decisive victory of Pharsalus in Thessaly. Cicero was not present at this fight, having remained in Dyrrhachium and later in Corcyra with the Pompeian fleet. He was now offered the chief command of the forces of the republic, but refused this offer and, at the risk of his life on the part of the aristocratic hotspurs, advised peace. Disgusted with the Utopianism of the Optimates he left them, and in October reached Brundisium, while the other Pompeians tried to carry the war into Africa. Caesar had gone in pursuit of Pompey, but on his arrival in Alexandria found his opponent foully murdered. For several months the Alexandrians kept him besieged, but he finally extricated himself. F. IX, 9; XIV, 9, 12, 17.
47. Cicero continued his sojourn at Brundisium, much worried by the uncertainty of his relations to Caesar, and his anxiety was increased by his grief over the unhappy marriage of his daughter Tullia to the Caesarian Dolabella, as well as by the growing estrangement from his wife Teren-

tia. Tullia's visit to her father only served to increase his depression. Caesar had defeated Pharnaces in Asia and returned to Italy in September. Cicero went to meet him, received a full pardon, and returned to Rome, while Caesar left for Africa to fight the Pompeians and Juba. F. XIV, 10, 11, 15, 20.

46. By the battle of Thapsus Caesar ended the African War, returned to Rome in triumph, and was made dictator for ten years and praefectus morum for three. During this year he also reformed the much disturbed calendar. But in November he was compelled to leave for Spain to fight once more against the last remnants of the Pompeians under Sextus, the son of Pompey. Cicero in the meantime devoted himself to literary activity. He wrote his *Orator*, a critical history of Roman eloquence, also the *Brutus*, and celebrated the suicide of Cato at Utica in a eulogy *Cato*, which created so deep an impression that Caesar during the Spanish campaign took the time to reply to it in his *Anticato*, a controversy which does not seem to have altered his courteous treatment of Cicero. Politically, the latter tried to alleviate the fate of his friends, to whom he wrote many consolatory letters, but otherwise he studiously refrained from any participation in the transactions of the Senate, until the generosity shown by Caesar to M. Marcellus broke through his reserve, so that on the spot he delivered the eloquent Thanksgiving on behalf of Marcellus (*Pro*

Marcello), one of his noblest oratorical efforts. Toward the end of the year his troubles with Terentia culminated in a divorce, and to rehabilitate his financial position he married the young and rich Publilia. His changed attitude toward Caesar during this and the following year found its expression also in the close intercourse with Caesar's friends and creatures, such as Antony, Hirtius, Balbus, and Dolabella. F. IV, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 13; VI, 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14; VII, 3, 26; IX, 1, 2, 6, 15, 16, 17; XII, 18; XIII, 11, 25; A. XII, 1.

45. After defeating the Pompeians at Munda (March 17), Caesar returned from Spain in September, became dictator perpetuus, praefectus morum perpetuus, and consul for ten years. The latter office, however, he resigned and had Maximus and Trebonius elected instead. He even filled the vacancy created by the death of Fabius (December 31) by the supplementary election of Rebilus for a few hours, a proceeding in which Cicero saw only the utmost derision of republican institutions. Cicero had devoted himself to literary pursuits, especially after suffering the heaviest blow of his life in the death of his beloved Tullia. Publilia, who, jealous of her stepdaughter, had not mourned her with becoming dignity, was for this reason divorced. The bereft father sought rest on the island of Asturá near Antium and composed a *Consolatio ad ipsum* (lost) and other philosophical works (*De Finibus*, *Academica*, *Hortensius*). F. IV,

5, 6, 12; V, 15; VI, 18; IX, 11, 13; XIII, 16; A. XII, 36; XIII, 52.

44. Caesar, busy with the preparations for a Parthian war, was assassinated March 15, an event hailed with excessive joy by Cicero, who from several indications had judged Caesar's intention to be to make himself formally the monarch of Rome. However, the deed did not bear the hoped-for fruit. The conspirators, afraid of the populace, took refuge on the Capitol and, through Hirtius, entered into negotiations with Antony and the Senate, which body on March 17 voted to uphold Caesar's measures regarding the filling of offices and the administration of the provinces as well as the intentions of the deceased ruler, as far as they might be ascertained from his papers. On the other hand, through Cicero's exertions, the conspirators were given a full pardon. But the control of affairs gradually passed into the hands of Antony, who had at first professed friendship for the "Liberatores." The conspirators, in fear for their lives, left town, and Cicero, too, retired to his estates and once more devoted himself to his literature (*Tusculanae Disputationes*, *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*, *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Officiis*). Antony, by forged documents purporting to have been found among Caesar's papers, acquired the sole control of affairs and shamelessly enriched himself and his friends. But now C. Octavianus Caesar, grandnephew and adopted son of Julius, appeared on the scene. Arriving in March, he

had first visited Cicero and gained his adherence, then had gone to Rome to win the favor of the people in ever increasing measure. Cicero had intended to go to Greece on a visit to his son, who was a student in Athens. He had already reached Leucopetra when he changed his plans and went back to Rome (August 31), to plunge into the whirlpool of political intrigues. On September 2, in the absence of Antony, he delivered his first Philippic, freely criticising, but not personally attacking, Antony. The latter replied on September 19 in an oration which, it is said, he had rehearsed for seventeen days. Cicero took his revenge in the second Philippic, an oration written only, and communicated but to his closest friends, in which he laid bare the whole personal and political infamy of his opponent. Civil war now seemed once more inevitable, and Cicero left town toward the end of October. Antony, by a decree of the people, had been given the two Gauls for 43, and was ready to seize them even before D. Brutus and Plancus had finished their term of office. Octavianus, in the meanwhile, with Cicero's advice, secured control of two of the legions returning from the East and privately enrolled many of Caesar's veterans against Antony. He also urged Cicero to return to Rome and take up the cudgels. The orator hesitated, but when Antony on November 28 had started for Gaul to make war on Brutus, he came back, determined to crush Antony and thus to secure the freedom of

the republic. His aim was to attach Octavianus to the Senate. The youth was therefore authorized to join the consuls for 43, Hirtius and Pansa, in a war on Antony. On December 20 Cicero delivered the third and fourth Philippics, to the Senate and the people, respectively. The Senate had thanked Brutus for resisting Antony and had commended the two legions which had passed over to Octavianus. F. VI, 15; VII, 22, 30; IX, 14; X, 1, 3, 4, 15; XI, 1, 5, 27, 28; XII, 1; XVI, 21; A. XV, 11; XVI, 5, 6.

43. On January 1 Cicero in the fifth Philippic moved to declare Antony a public enemy. But against his wishes the Senate adopted a conciliatory attitude on January 4, and sent envoys to Antony to exhort him to lay down his arms (Phil. VI). Even before the return of this embassy Cicero once more (Phil. VII) attacked the partisans of Antony. When the latter replied in February with the most immoderate demands, Cicero moved the declaration of war, but only succeeded in having the Senate declare that there existed a *tumultus*. In the meantime the consuls had taken the field, together with Octavianus, while Cicero exhorted Senate and people to the most strenuous exertions (Phil. X, XI, XII). New peace proposals were voted after the delivery of Phil. XIII. A victory over Antony at Forum Gallicum was announced in Rome on April 21, and in the last Philippic Cicero demanded a *Supplicatio* of fifty days, rewards for the victorious generals and soldiers, a monument in

honor of the fallen, and the branding of Antony as *hostis*, motions which were overwhelmingly carried. All this while Cicero had exerted himself to the utmost to keep the different commanders loyal and to urge M. Brutus and Cassius to hurry home from Macedonia and Syria. On April 21 Antony was decisively defeated at Mutina. But the republic was cheated of the fruits of this victory through the death of Hirtius and Pansa. Antony hurried to Further Gaul, where he was joined by Lepidus, the governor of the Narbonensis, and, somewhat later, by Pollio from Spain. D. Brutus did not command a sufficient force to pursue Antony with the necessary energy, and the other Gallic governor, Plancus, jealous of both Brutus and Octavianus, after long vacillation, refused his assistance. Octavianus, afraid of being left out of any coming settlement, hurried with his troops to Rome and forced his election as consul. In the fall he formed the Second Triumvirate with Antony and Lepidus. This alliance sounded the death knell of the republic. The adherents of freedom were proscribed, among them Cicero, who, on December 7, 43, nearly 64 years old, courageously met death near his villa in Formiae. F. X, 5, 6, 12, 24; XI, 8, 9; XII, 4, 5, 10, 16.



CICERO'S LETTERS

I. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ROME, 66)

Crebras expectationes nobis tui commoves. Nuper quidem, cum iam te adventare arbitraremur, repente abs te in mensem Quinctilem reiecti sumus. Nunc vero sentio, quod commodum tuo facere poteris, venias ad id tempus, quod scribis; obieris Quinti fratris comitia, nos longo 5 intervallo viseris, Acutilianam controversiam transegeris. Hoc me etiam Peducaeus ut ad te scriberem admonuit. Putamus enim utile esse te aliquando eam rem transigere. Mea intercessio parata et est et fuit. (2) Nos hic incredibili ac singulari populi voluntate de C. Macro transegimus. 10 Cui cum aequi fuisset, tamen multo maiorem fructum ex populi existimatione illo damnato cepimus quam ex ipsius, si absolutus esset, gratia cepissemus.

(3) Quod ad me de Hermathena scribis, per mihi gratum est. Est ornamentum Academiae proprium meae, quod 15 et Hermes commune omnium et Minerva singulare est insigne eius gymnasii. Quare velim, ut scribis, ceteris quoque rebus quam plurimis eum locum ornes. Quae mihi antea signa misisti, ea nondum vidi; in Formiano sunt, quo ego nunc proficisci cogitabam. Illa omnia in 20 Tusculanum deportabo. Caietam, si quando abundare coepero, ornabo. Libros tuos conserva et noli desperare eos me meos facere posse. Quod si adsequor, supero Crassum divitiis atque omnium vicos et prata contemno.

II. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ROME, JULY, 65)

Petitionis nostrae, quam tibi summae curae esse scio, huius modi ratio est, quod adhuc coniectura provideri possit. Prensat unus P. Galba. Sine fuco ac fallaciis more maiorum negatur. Ut opiniost hominum, non
5 aliena rationi nostrae fuit illius haec praepropera prensatio. Nam illi ita negant vulgo, ut mihi se debere dicant. Ita quiddam spero nobis profici, cum hoc percrebrescit, plurimos nostros amicos inveniri. Nos autem initium
10 prensandi facere cogitaramus eo ipso tempore, quo tuum puerum cum his litteris proficisci Cincius dicebat, in campo comitiis tribuniciiis a.d. XVI Kalend. Sextiles. Competitores, qui certi esse videantur, Galba et Antonius et Q. Cornificius. Puto te in hoc aut risisse aut ingemuisse. Ut frontem ferias, sunt qui etiam Caesonium putent.
15 Aquilium non arbitrabamur, qui denegavit et iuravit morbum et illud suum regnum iudiciale opposuit. Catilina, si iudicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor. De Aufidio et de Palicano non puto te expectare dum scribam. (2) De iis, qui nunc petunt, Caesar
20 certus putatur. Thermus cum Silano contendere existimatur; qui sic inopes et ab amicis et existimatione sunt, ut mihi videatur non esse ἀδύνατον Curium obducere. Sed hoc praeter me nemini videtur. Nostris rationibus maxime conducere videtur Thermum fieri cum Caesare.
25 Nemo est enim ex iis, qui nunc petunt, qui si in nostrum annum reciderit, firmior candidatus fore videatur, propterea quod curator est viae Flaminiae. Quae cum erit absoluta, sane facile eum ac libenter municipia consulem acceperint. Petitorum haec est adhuc informata cogitatio.
30 Nos in omni munere candidatorio fungendo summam ad-

hibebimus diligentiam et fortasse, quoniam videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia, cum Romae a iudiciis forum refrixerit, excurremus mense Septembri legati ad Pisonem, ut Ianuario revertamur. Cum perspexero voluntates nobilium, scribam ad te. Cetera spero prolixa 5 esse his dumtaxat urbanis competitoribus. Illam manum tu mihi cura ut praestes, quoniam propius abes, Pompei, nostri amici. Nega me ei iratum fore, si ad mea comitia non venerit. Atque haec huius modi sunt.

(3) Sed est, quod abs te mihi ignosci pervelim. Cae- 10 cilius, avunculus tuus, a P. Vario cum magna pecunia fraudaretur, agere coepit cum eius fratre A. Caninio Satyro de iis rebus, quas eum dolo malo mancipio accepisse de Vario diceret. Una agebant ceteri creditores, in quibus erat L. Lucullus et P. Scipio et is, quem putabant magistrum 15 fore, si bona venirent, L. Pontius. Verum hoc ridiculum est de magistro. Nunc cognosce rem. Rogavit me Caecilius, ut adessem contra Satyrum. Dies fere nullus est, quin hic Satyrus domum meam ventitet; observat L. Domitium maxime, me habet proximum; fuit et mihi 20 et Quinto fratri magno usui in nostris petitionibus.

(4) Sane sum perturbatus cum ipsius Satyri familiaritate tum Domiti, in quo uno maxime ambitio nostra nititur. Demonstravi haec Caecilio simul et illud ostendi, si ipse unus cum illo uno contenderet, me ei satis facturum 25 fuisse; nunc in causa universorum creditorum, hominum praesertim amplissimorum, qui sine eo, quem Caecilius suo nomine perhiberet, facile causam communem sustinerent, aequum esse eum et officio meo consulere et tempori. Durius accipere hoc mihi visus est quam vellem, et quam 30 homines belli solent, et postea prorsus ab instituta nostra paucorum dierum consuetudine longe refugit.

Abs te peto, ut mihi hoc ignoscas et me existimes humanitate esse prohibitum, ne contra amici summam existimationem miserrimo eius tempore venirem, cum is omnia sua studia et officia in me contulisset. Quodsi
 5 voles in me esse durior, ambitionem putabis mihi obstitisse. Ego autem arbitror, etiamsi id sit, mihi ignoscendum esse,

“ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήιον οὐδὲ βοείην.”

Vides enim, in quo cursu simus et quam omnes gratias non modo retinendas, verum etiam acquirendas pute-
 10 mus. Spero tibi me causam probasse, cupio quidem certe.

Hermathena tua valde me delectat et posita ita belle est, ut totum gymnasium eius ἀνάθημα esse videatur. Multum te amamus.

III. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ROME, SHORTLY AFTER JULY, 65)

15 L. Iulio Caesare, C. Marcio Figulo consulibus filiolo me auctum scito salva Terentia. Abs te iam diu nihil litterarum! Ego de meis ad te rationibus scripsi antea diligenter. Hoc tempore Catilinam, competitorem nostrum, defendere cogitamus. Iudices habemus, quos volu-
 20 imus, summa accusatoris voluntate. Spero, si absolutus erit, coniunctiorem illum nobis fore in ratione petitionis; sin aliter acciderit, humaniter feremus. (2) Tuo adventu nobis opus est maturo; nam prorsus summa hominum est opinio tuos familiares, nobiles homines, adversarios honori
 25 nostro fore. Ad eorum voluntatem mihi conciliandam maximo te mihi usui fore video. Quare Ianuario mense, ut constituisti, cura ut Romae sis.

IV. Q. METELLUS Q. F. CELER PROCOS. S.D. M.
TULLIO CICERONI. (IN GAUL, JANUARY, 62)

Si vales, benest. Existimaram pro mutuo inter nos animo et pro reconciliata gratia nec absentem me a te ludibrio laesum iri nec Metellum fratrem ob dictum capite ac fortunis per te oppugnatum iri. Quem si parum pudor ipsius defendebat, debebat vel familiae nostrae dignitas⁵ vel meum studium erga vos remque publicam satis sublevare. Nunc video illum circumventum, me desertum a quibus minime conveniebat. (2) Itaque in luctu et squalore sum, qui provinciae, qui exercitui praesum, qui bellum gero. Quae quoniam nec ratione nec maiorum¹⁰ nostrorum clementia administrastis, non erit mirandum si vos paenitebit. Te tam mobili in me meosque esse animo non sperabam. Me interea nec domesticus dolor nec cuiusquam iniuria ab re p. abducet.

V. M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO Q. METELLO Q. F.
CELERI PROCOS. S.D. (ROME, END OF JANUARY OR
BEGINNING OF FEBRUARY, 62)

Si tu exercitusque valetis, benest. Scribis ad me 'te¹⁵ existimasse pro mutuo inter nos animo et pro reconciliata gratia numquam te a me ludibrio laesum iri.' Quod cuius modi sit, satis intellegere non possum, sed tamen suspicor ad te esse allatum me in senatu, cum disputarem permultos esse, qui rem p. a me conservatam dolerent,²⁰ dixisse a te propinquos tuos, quibus negare non potuisses, impetrasse, ut ea, quae statuisses tibi in senatu de mea laude esse dicenda, reticeres. Quod cum dicerem, illud adiunxi, mihi tecum ita dispertitum officium fuisse in rei p. salute retinenda, ut ego urbem a domesticis insidiis et²⁵

ab intestino scelere, tu Italiam et ab armatis hostibus et
ab occulta coniuratione defenderes, atque hanc nostram
tanti et tam praeclari muneris societatem a tuis propin-
quis labefactatam, qui, cum tu a me rebus amplissimis
5 atque honorificentissimis ornatus esses, timuissent, ne
quae mihi pars abs te voluntatis mutuae tribueretur.

(2) Hoc in sermone cum a me exponeretur, quae mea
exspectatio fuisset orationis tuae, quantoque in errore
versatus essem, visa est oratio non iniucunda, et medio-
10 cris quidam est risus consecutus non in te, sed magis in
errorem meum, et quod me abs te cupisse laudari aperte
atque ingenuè confitebar. Iam hoc non potest in te non
honorifice esse dictum, me in clarissimis meis atque am-
plissimis rebus tamen aliquod testimonium tuae vocis
15 habere voluisse.

(3) Quod autem ita scribis: 'pro mutuo inter nos
animo,' quid tu existimes esse in amicitia mutuum, nescio,
equidem hoc arbitror, cum par voluntas accipitur et red-
ditur. Ego si hoc dicam, me tua causa praetermisisse
20 provinciam, tibi ipsi levior videar esse; meae enim ra-
tiones ita tulerunt, atque eius mei consilii maiorem in dies
singulos fructum voluptatemque capio; illud dico, me,
ut primum in contione provinciam deposuerim, statim,
quem ad modum eam tibi traderem, cogitare coepisse.
25 Nihil dico de sortitione vestra; tantum te suspicari volo,
nihil in ea re per collegam meum me insciente esse factum.
Recordare cetera, quam cito senatum illo die facta sorti-
tione collegerim, quam multa de te verba fecerim, cum tu
ipso mihi dixisti orationem meam non solum in te hono-
30 rificam, sed etiam in collegas tuos contumeliosam fuisse.

(4) Iam illud senatus consultum, quod illo die factum est,
ea praescriptione est, ut, dum id exstabit, officium meum

in te obscurum esse non possit. Postea vero quam profectus es, velim recordere, quae ego de te in senatu egerim, quae in contionibus dixerim, quas ad te litteras miserim. Quae cum omnia collegeris, tu ipse velim iudices, satisne videatur his omnibus rebus tuus adventus, cum proxime 5 Romam venisti, mutue respondiisse.

(5) Quod scribis de 'reconciliata gratia' nostra, non intellego, cur reconciliatam dicas, quae numquam imminutast. (6) Quod scribis non oportuisse 'Metellum, fratrem tuum, ob dictum a me oppugnari,' primum hoc 10 velim existimes, animum mihi istum tuum vehementer probari et fraternam plenam humanitatis ac pietatis voluntatem; deinde, si qua ego in re fratri tuo rei publicae causa restiterim, ut mihi ignoscas — tam enim sum amicus rei p. quam qui maxime —; si vero meam salutem 15 contra illius impetum in me crudelissimum defenderim, satis habeas nihil me etiam tecum de tui fratris iniuria conqueri. Quem ego cum comperissem omnem sui tribunatus conatum in meam perniciem parare atque meditari, egi cum Claudia, uxore tua, et cum vestra sorore 20 Mucia, cuius erga me studium pro Cn. Pompei necessitudine multis in rebus perspexeram, ut eum ab illa iniuria deterrerent. (7) Atqui ille, quod te audisse certo scio, pr. K. Ian., qua iniuria nemo umquam in infimo magistratu improbissimus civis adfectus est, ea me consulem adfecit, 25 cum rem p. conservassem, atque abeuntem magistratu contionis habendae potestate privavit. Cuius iniuria mihi tamen honori summo fuit; nam, cum ille mihi nihil, nisi ut iurarem, permetteret, magna voce iuravi verissimum pulcherrimumque ius iurandum, quod populus idem magna 30 voce me vere iurasse iuravit. (8) Hac accepta tam insigni iniuria tamen illo ipso die misi ad Metellum com-

munis amicos, qui agerent cum eo, ut de illa mente desisteret. Quibus ille respondit sibi non esse integrum; etenim paulo ante in contione dixerat ei, qui in alios animum advertisset indicta causa, dicendi ipsi potestatem fieri non oportere. Hominem et civem egregium! qui, qua poena senatus consensu bonorum omnium eos adfecerat, qui urbem incendere et magistratus ac senatum trucidare, bellum maximum conflare voluissent, eadem dignum iudicaret eum, qui curiam caede, urbem incendiis, Italiam bello liberasset. Itaque ego Metello, fratri tuo, praesenti restiti. Nam in senatu K. Ianuariis sic cum eo de re p. disputavi, ut sentiret sibi cum viro forti et constanti esse pugnandum. A. d. tertium Non. Ian. cum agere coepisset, tertio quoque verbo orationis suae me appellabat, mihi minabatur, neque illi quicquam deliberatius fuit quam me, quacumque ratione posset, non iudicio neque disceptatione, sed vi atque impressione evertere. Huius ego temeritati si virtute atque animo non restitissem, quis esset, qui me in consulatu non casu potius existimaret quam consilio fortem fuisse?

(9) Haec si tu Metellum cogitare de me nescisti, debes existimare te maximis de rebus a fratre esse celatum; sin autem aliquid impertivit tibi sui consilii, lenis a te et facilis existimari debeo, qui nihil tecum de his ipsis rebus expostulem. Et si intellegis non me 'dicto' Metelli, ut scribis, sed consilio eius animoque in me inimicissimo esse commotum, cognosce nunc humanitatem meam, si humanitas appellandast in acerbissima iniuria remissio animi ac dissolutio. Nullast a me umquam sententia dicta in fratrem tuum; quotienscumque aliquid est actum, sedens iis adsensi, qui mihi lenissime sentire visi sunt. Addam illud etiam, quod iam ego curare non debui, sed

tamen fieri non moleste tuli atque etiam, ut ita fieret, pro mea parte adiuvi, ut senati consulto meus inimicus, quia tuus frater erat, sublevaretur.

(10) Quare non ego 'oppugnavi' fratrem tuum, sed fratri tuo repugnavi nec in te, ut scribis, 'animo fui mobili,'⁵ sed ita stabili, ut in mea erga te voluntate etiam desertus ab officiis tuis permanerem. Atque hoc ipso tempore tibi paene minitanti nobis per litteras hoc rescribo atque respondeo: Ego dolori tuo non solum ignosco, sed summam etiam laudem tribuo — meus enim me sensus, quanta¹⁰ vis fraterni sit amoris, admonet — ; a te peto, ut tu quoque aequum te iudicem dolori meo praebeas; si acerbe, si crudeliter, si sine causa sum a tuis oppugnatus, ut statuas mihi non modo non cedendum, sed etiam tuo atque exercitus tui auxilio in eius modi causa utendum fuisse.¹⁵ Ego te mihi semper amicum esse volui, me ut tibi amicissimum esse intellegeres, laboravi. Maneo in voluntate et, quoad voles tu, permanebo citiusque amore tui fratrem tuum odisse desinam quam illius odio quicquam de nostra benevolentia detraham.

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VI. M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO S.D. CN. POMPEIO
CN. F. MAGNO IMPERATORI. (ROME, APRIL, 62)

S.T.E.Q.V.B.E. Ex litteris tuis, quas publice misisti, cepi una cum omnibus incredibilem voluptatem; tantam enim spem otii ostendisti, quantam ego semper omnibus te uno fretus pollicebar. Sed hoc scito, tuos veteres hostis, novos amicos, vehementer litteris percussos atque²⁵ ex magna spe deturbatos iacere. (2) Ad me autem litteras quas misisti, quamquam exiguam significationem tuae erga me voluntatis habebant, tamen mihi scito

iucundas fuisse; nulla enim re tam laetari soleo quam meorum officiorum conscientia; quibus si quando non mutue respondetur, apud me plus officii residere facillime patior. Illud non dubito, quin, si te summa erga te studia
 5 parum mihi adiunxerint, res publica nos inter nos conciliatura coniuncturaque sit. (3) Ac ne ignores, quid ego in tuis litteris desiderarim, scribam aperte, sicut et mea natura et nostra amicitia postulat. Res eas gessi, quarum aliquam in tuis litteris et nostrae necessitudinis et rei p.
 10 causa gratulationem exspectavi; quam ego abs te praetermissam esse arbitror, quod vererere, ne cuius animum offenderes. Sed scito ea, quae nos pro salute patriae gessimus, orbis terrae iudicio ac testimonio comprobari; quae, cum veneris, tanto consilio tantaque animi magnitudine
 15 a me gesta esse cognosces, ut tibi multo maiori, quam Africanus fuit, me non multo minorem quam Laelium facile et in re p. et in amicitia adiunctum esse patiare.

VII. M. CICERO S.D. C. ANTONIO M. F. IMP. (ROME,
 END OF NOVEMBER OR BEGINNING OF DECEMBER, 62)

Etsi statueram nullas ad te litteras mittere nisi commendaticias — non quo eas intellegerem satis apud te valere,
 20 sed ne iis, qui me rogarent aliquid de nostra coniunctione imminutum esse ostenderem —, tamen, cum T. Pomponius, homo omnium meorum in te studiorum et officiorum maxime conscius, tui cupidus, nostri amantissimus, ad te proficisceretur, aliquid mihi scribendum putavi,
 25 praesertim cum aliter ipsi Pomponio satis facere non possem.

(2) Ego si abs te summa officia desiderem, mirum nemini videri debeat. Omnia enim a me in te profecta sunt, quae

ad tuum commodum, quae ad honorem, quae ad dignitatem pertinerent. Pro his rebus nullam mihi abs te relatum esse gratiam tu es optimus testis, contra etiam esse aliquid abs te profectum ex multis audiui; nam 'comperisse' me non audeo dicere, ne forte id ipsum verbum 5 ponam, quod abs te aiunt falso in me solere conferri. Sed ea, quae ad me delata sunt, malo te ex Pomponio, cui non minus molesta fuerunt, quam ex meis litteris cognoscere. Meus in te animus quam singulari officio fuerit, et senatus et p. R. testis est; tu quam gratus erga me 10 fueris, ipse existimare potes; quantum mihi debeas, ceteri existimant. (3) Ego quae tua causa antea feci, voluntate sum adductus posteaque constantia; sed reliqua, mihi crede, multo maius meum studium maioremque gravitatem et laborem desiderant. Quae ego si non profundero 15 ac perdere videbor, omnibus meis viribus sustinebo; sin autem ingrata esse sentiam, non committam, ut tibi ipsi insanire videar. Ea quae sint et cuius modi, poteris ex Pomponio cognoscere. Atque ipsum tibi Pomponium ita commendo, ut, quamquam ipsius causa confido te fac- 20 turum omnia, tamen abs te hoc petam, ut, si quid in te residet amoris erga me, id omne in Pomponi negotio ostendas. Hoc mihi nihil gratius facere potes.

VIII. CICERO S.D. M. FADIO GALLO. (ROME, END OF
62 OR EARLY IN 61)

Tantum quod ex Arpinati veneram, cum mihi a te litterae redditae sunt, ab eodemque accepi Aviani litteras, in 25 quibus hoc inerat liberalissimum, nomina se facturum, cum venisset, quo ego vellem die. Fac, quaeso, qui ego sum, esse te; estne aut tui pudoris aut nostri primum

rogare de die, deinde plus annua postulare? Sed essent, mi Galle, omnia facilia, si et ea mercatus esses, quae ego desiderabam, et ad eam summam, quam volueram. Ac tamen ista ipsa, quae te emissee scribis, non solum rata
5 mihi erunt, sed etiam grata; plane enim intellego te non modo studio, sed etiam amore usum, quae te delectarint, hominem, ut ego semper iudicavi, in omni iudicio elegantissimum, quae me digna putaris, coemisse. (2) Sed velim maneat Damasippus in sententia; prorsus enim
10 ex istis emptionibus nullam desidero. Tu autem ignarus instituti mei, quanti ego genus omnino signorum omnium non aestimo, tanti ista quattuor aut quinque sumpsisti. Bacchas istas cum Musis Metelli comparas. Quid simile? Primum ipsas ego Musas numquam tanti putassem atque
15 id fecissem Musis omnibus adprobantibus, sed tamen erat aptum bybliothecae studiisque nostris congruens; Bacchis vero ubi est apud me locus? At pulchellae sunt. Novi optime et saepe vidi. Nominatim tibi signa mihi nota mandassem, si probassem. Ea enim signa emere
20 soleo, quae ad similitudinem gymnasiorum exornent mihi in palaestra locum. Martis vero signum quo mihi pacis auctori? Gaudeo nullum Saturni signum fuisse; haec enim duo signa putarem mihi aes alienum attulisse. Mercuri mallet aliquod fuisset; felicius, puto, cum Aviano
25 transigere possemus. (3) Quod tibi destinaras trapezophorum, si te delectat, habebis; sin autem sententiam mutasti, ego habebo scilicet. Ista quidem summa ne ego multo libentius emerim deversorium Tarracinae, ne semper hospiti molestus sim. Omnino liberti mei video esse
30 culpam, cui plane res certas mandaram, itemque Iuni, quem puto tibi notum esse, Aviani familiarem. Exhedria quaedam mihi nova sunt instituta in porticula Tusculani.

Ea volebam tabellis ornare ; etenim, si quid generis istius modi me delectat, pictura delectat. Sed tamen, si ista mihi sunt habenda, certiolem velim me facias, ubi sint, quando arcessantur, quo genere vecturae. Si enim Damasippus in sententia non manebit, aliquem Pseudodamasippum vel cum iactura reperiemus.

(4) Quod ad me de domo scribis iterum, iam id ego proficiscens mandaram meae Tulliae ; ea enim ipsa hora acceperam tuas litteras. Egeram etiam cum tuo Nicia, quod is utitur, ut scis, familiariter Cassio. Ut redii autem, priusquam tuas legi has proximas litteras, quaesivi de mea Tullia, quid egisset. Per Liciniam se egisse dicebat — sed opinor Cassium uti non ita multum sorore — ; eam porro negare se audere, cum vir abesset — est enim profectus in Hispaniam Dexius — illo et absente et insciente migrare. Est mihi gratissimum tanti a te aestimatum consuetudinem vitae victusque nostri, primum ut eam domum sumeres, ut non modo prope me, sed plane mecum habitare posses, deinde ut migrare tanto opere festines. Sed ne vivam, si tibi concedo, ut eius rei tu cupidior sis, quam ego sum. Itaque omnia experiar ; video enim, quid mea intersit, quid utriusque nostrum. Si quid egero, faciam, ut scias. Tu et ad omnia rescribes et, quando te exspectem, facies me, si tibi videtur, certiolem.

IX. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ROME, JULY, 61)

Quaeris ex me, quid acciderit de iudicio, quod tam praeter opinionem omnium factum sit, et simul vis scire, quo modo ego minus quam soleam proeliatus sim. Respondebo tibi ὕστερον πρότερον Ὀμηρικῶς. Ego enim, quam diu senatus auctoritas mihi defendenda fuit, sic acriter

et vehementer proeliatus sum, ut clamor concursusque maxima cum mea laude fierent. Quodsi tibi umquam sum visus in re publica fortis, certe me in illa causa admiratus esses. Cum enim ille ad contiones confugisset
 5 in iisque meo nomine ad invidiam uteretur, di immortales ! quas ego pugnas et quantas strages edidi ! quos impetus in Pisonem, in Curionem, in totam illam manum feci ! quo modo sum insectatus levitatem senum, libidinem iuventutis ! Saepe, ita me di iuvent ! te non solum auctorem
 10 consiliorum meorum, verum etiam spectatorem pugnarum mirificarum desideravi. (2) Postea vero quam Hortensius excogitavit, ut legem de religione Fufius tribunus pl. ferret, in qua nihil aliud a consulari rogatione differebat nisi iudicum genus — in eo autem erant omnia — pug-
 15 navitque, ut ita fieret, quod et sibi et aliis persuaserat nullis illum iudicibus effugere posse, contraxi vela perspiciens inopiam iudicum neque dixi quicquam pro testimonio, nisi quod erat ita notum atque testatum, ut non possem praeterire. Itaque, si causam quaeris absolu-
 20 tionis, ut iam *πρὸς τὸ πρότερον* revertar, egestas iudicum fuit et turpitudine. Id autem ut accideret, commissum est Hortensi consilio, qui dum veritus est, ne Fufius ei legi intercederet, quae ex senatus consulto ferebatur, non vidit illud, satius esse illum in infamia relinqui ac sordibus quam
 25 infirmo iudicio committi, sed ductus odio properavit rem deducere in iudicium, cum illum plumbeo gladio iugulatum iri tamen diceret.

(3) Sed iudicium si quaeris quale fuerit, incredibili exitu, sic uti nunc ex eventu ab aliis, a me tamen ex ipso
 30 initio consilium Hortensi reprehendatur. Nam ut reiectio facta est clamoribus maximis, cum accusator tamquam censor bonus homines nequissimos reiceret, reus tam-

quam clemens lanista frugalissimum quemque secerneret, ut primum iudices consederunt, valde diffidere boni coeperunt. Non enim umquam turpior in ludo talario consessus fuit, maculosi senatores, nudi equites, tribuni non tam aerarii, quam, ut appellantur, aerati. Pauci tamen 5 boni inerant, quos reiectione fugare ille non potuerat, qui maesti inter sui dissimiles et maerentes sedebant et contagione turpitudinis vehementer permovebantur. (4) Hic, ut quaeque res ad consilium primis postulationibus referebatur, incredibilis erat severitas nulla varietate senten-10 tiarum. Nihil impetrabat reus, plus accusatori dabatur, quam postulabat; triumphabat — quid quaeris? — Hortensius se vidisse tantum; nemo erat, qui illum reum ac non miliens condemnatum arbitraretur. Me vero teste producto credo te ex acclamatione Clodi advocatorum 15 audisse quae consurrectio iudicum facta sit, ut me circumsteterint, ut aperte iugula sua pro meo capite P. Clodio ostentarint. Quae mihi res multo honorificentior visa est quam aut illa, cum iurare tui cives Xenocratem testimonium dicentem prohibuerunt, aut cum tabellas Me-20 telli Numidici, cum eae, ut mos est, circumferrentur, nostri iudices aspicere noluerunt. Multo haec, inquam, nostra res maior. (5) Itaque iudicum vocibus, cum ego sic ab iis ut salus patriae defenderer, fractus reus et una patroni omnes conciderunt; ad me autem eadem frequentia pos-25 tridie convenit, quacum abiens consulatu sum domum reductus. Clamare praeclari Areopagitae se non esse venturos nisi praesidio constituto. Refertur ad consilium. Una sola sententia praesidium non desideravit. Defertur res ad senatum. Gravissime ornatissimeque 30 decernitur; laudantur iudices; datur negotium magistratibus. Responsurum hominem nemo arbitrabatur.

“Ἐσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι

ὅπως δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε.’

Nosti Calvum ex Nanneianis illum, illum laudatorem meum, de cuius oratione erga me honorifica ad te scripseram. Biduo per unum servum et eum ex ludo gladiatorio confecit totum negotium; arcessivit ad se, promisit, intercessit, dedit. Iam vero — o, di boni, rem perditam! — etiam noctes certarum mulierum atque adolescentulorum nobilium introductiones non nullis iudicibus pro mercedis cumulo fuerunt. Ita summo discessu bonorum, pleno foro servorum, XXV iudices ita fortes tamen fuerunt, ut summo proposito periculo vel perire maluerint quam perdere omnia. XXXI fuerunt, quos fames magis quam fama commoverit. Quorum Catulus cum vidisset quendam, ‘Quid vos,’ inquit, ‘praesidium a nobis postulabatis? an, ne nummi vobis eriperentur, timebatis?’ Habes, ut brevissime potui, genus iudicii et causam absolutionis.

(6) Quaeris deinceps, qui nunc sit status rerum et qui meus. Rei publicae statum illum, quem tu meo consilio, ego divino, confirmatum putabam, qui bonorum omnium coniunctione et auctoritate consulatus mei fixus et fundatus videbatur, nisi quis nos deus respexerit, elapsum scito esse de manibus uno hoc iudicio, si iudicium est triginta homines populi Romani levissimos ac nequissimos nummulis acceptis ius ac fas omne delere et, quod omnes non modo homines, verum etiam pecudes factum esse sciant, id Talam et Plautum et Spongiam et ceteras huius modi quisquillas statuere numquam esse factum. (7) Sed tamen, ut te de re publica consoler, non ita, ut sperarunt mali tanto imposito rei publicae vulnere, alacris exsultat improbitas in victoria. Nam plane ita putaverunt, cum

religio, cum pudicitia, cum iudiciorum fides, cum senatus auctoritas concidisset, fore ut aperte victrix nequitia ac libido poenas ab optimo quoque peteret sui doloris, quem improbissimo cuique inusserat severitas consulatus mei.

(8) Idem ego ille — non enim mihi videor insolenter glo-⁵riari, cum de me apud te loquor, in ea praesertim epistula, quam nolo ab aliis legi — idem, inquam, ego recreavi afflictos animos bonorum unum quemque confirmans, excitans; insectandis vero exagitandisque nummariis iudicibus omnem omnibus studiosis ac fautoribus illius ¹⁰victoriae *παρρησίαν* eripui, Pisonem consulem nulla in re consistere umquam sum passus, desponsam homini iam Syriam ademi, senatum ad pristinam suam severitatem revocavi atque abiectum excitavi, Clodium praesentem fregi in senatu cum oratione perpetua plenissima gravi-¹⁵tatis tum altercatione huius modi; ex qua licet pauca degustes; nam cetera non possunt habere eandem neque vim neque venustatem remoto illo studio contentionis, quem *ἀγῶνα* vos appellatis.

(9) Nam, ut Idibus Maiis in senatum convenimus, rogatus ego sententiam multa ²⁰dixi de summa re publica, atque ille locus inductus a me est divinitus, ne una plaga accepta patres conscripti conciderent, ne deficerent; vulnus esse eius modi, quod mihi nec dissimulandum nec pertimescendum videretur, ne aut ignorando stultissimi aut metuendo ignavissimi iudi-²⁵caremur; bis absolutum esse Lentulum, bis Catilinam, hunc tertium iam esse a iudicibus in rem publicam immissum. ‘Erras, Clodi; non te iudices urbi, sed carceri reservarunt neque te retinere in civitate, sed exsilio privare voluerunt. Quam ob rem, patres conscripti, erigite ³⁰animos, retinete vestram dignitatem. Manet illa in re publica bonorum consensio; dolor accessit bonis viris,

virtus non est imminuta; nihil est damni factum novi, sed quod erat, inventum est. In unius hominis perditione iudicio plures similes reperti sunt.' (10) Sed quid ago? paene orationem in epistulam inclusi. Redeo ad alterationem. Surgit pulchellus puer, obicit mihi me ad Baias fuisse. Falsum, sed tamen quid hoc? 'Simile est,' inquam, 'quasi in operto dicas fuisse.' 'Quid,' inquit, 'homini Arpinati cum aquis calidis?' 'Narra,' inquam, 'patrono tuo, qui Arpinatis aquas concupivit'; nosti enim Marinas. 'Quousque,' inquit, 'hunc regem fereamus?' 'Regem appellas?' inquam, 'cum Rex tui mentionem nullam fecerit?' ille autem Regis hereditatem spe devorarat. 'Domum,' inquit, 'emisti.' 'Putes,' inquam, 'dicere: Iudices emisti.' 'Iuranti,' inquit, 'tibi non crediderunt.' 'Mihi vero,' inquam, 'XXV iudices crediderunt, XXXI, quoniam nummos ante acceperunt, tibi nihil crediderunt.' Magnis clamoribus adflictus conticuit et concidit.

(11) Noster autem status est hic. Apud bonos iidem sumus, quos reliquisti, apud sordem urbis et faecem multo melius nunc quam reliquisti. Nam et illud nobis non obest, videri nostrum testimonium non valuisse; missus est sanguis invidiae sine dolore atque etiam hoc magis, quod omnes illi fautores illius flagitii rem manifestam illam redemptam esse a iudicibus confitentur. Accedit illud, quod illa contionalis hirudo aerarii, misera ac ieiuna plebecula, me ab hoc Magno unice diligere putat, et hercule multa et iucunda consuetudine coniuncti inter nos sumus usque eo, ut nostri isti commissatores coniurationis barbari iuvenes illum in sermonibus 'Cn. Ciceronem' appellent. Itaque et ludis et gladiatoribus mirandas ἐπισημασίαι sine ulla pastoricia fistula auferebamus.

(12) Nunc est expectatio comitiorum; in quae omnibus invitis trudit noster Magnus Auli filium atque in eo neque auctoritate neque gratia pugnat, sed quibus Philippus omnia castella expugnari posse dicebat, in quae modo asellus onustus auro posset ascendere. Consul autem ille 5 deterioris histrionis similis suscepisse negotium dicitur et domi divisores habere; quod ego non credo. Sed senatus consulta duo iam facta sunt odiosa, quod in consulem facta putantur, Catone et Domitio postulante, unum, ut apud magistratus inquiri liceret, alterum, cuius domi divisores 10 habitarent, adversus rem publicam. (13) Lurco autem tribunus pl., qui magistratum insimulatum lege Aelia iniit, solutus est et Aelia et Fufia, ut legem de ambitu ferret, quam ille bono auspicio claudus homo promulgavit. Ita comitia in a. d. VI Kal. Sext. dilata sunt. Novi est in lege 15 hoc, ut, qui nummos in tribu pronuntiarit, si non dederit, impune sit, sin dederit, ut quoad vivat, singulis tribulibus HS ∞ ∞ ∞ debeat. Dixi hanc legem P. Clodium iam ante servasse; pronuntiare enim solitum esse et non dare. Sed heus tu! videsne consulatum illum nostrum, 20 quem Curio antea ἀποθέωσιν vocabat, si hic factus erit, fabam minimum futurum? Quare, ut opinor, φιλοσοφητέον, id quod tu facis, et istos consulatus non flocci faciteon.

(14) Quod ad me scribis te in Asiam statuisse non ire, equidem mallet, ut ires, ac vereor, ne quid in ista re 25 minus commode fiat; sed tamen non possum reprehendere consilium tuum, praesertim cum egomet in provinciam non sim profectus.

(15) Epigrammatis tuis, quae in Amaltheo posuisti, contenti erimus, praesertim cum et Thyillus nos reliquerit, 30 et Archias nihil de me scripserit. Ac vereor, ne, Lucullis quoniam Graecum poema condidit, nunc ad Caecilianam

fabulam spectet. (16) Antonio tuo nomine gratias egi eamque epistulam Mallio dedi. Ad te ideo antea rarius scripsi, quod non habebam idoneum, cui darem, nec satis sciebam, quo darem. Valde te venditavi. (17) Cincius
 5 si quid ad me tui negotii detulerit, suscipiam; sed nunc magis in suo est occupatus; in quo ego ei non desum. Tu si uno in loco es futurus, crebras a nobis litteras expecta; ast plures etiam ipse mittito. (18) Velim ad me scribas, cuius modi sit Ἀμαλθείων tuum, quo ornatu, qua
 10 τοποθεσία, et quae poemata quasque historias de Ἀμαλθείᾳ habes, ad me mittas. Libet mihi facere in Arpinati. Ego tibi aliquid de meis scriptis mittam. Nihil erat absoluti.

X. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ROME, DECEMBER 5, 61)

Magna mihi varietas voluntatis et dissimilitudo opinionis ac iudicii Quinti fratris mei demonstrata est ex
 15 literis tuis, in quibus ad me epistularum illius exempla misisti. Qua ex re et molestia sum tanta adfectus, quantum mihi meus amor summus erga utrumque vestrum adferre debuit, et admiratione, quidnam accidisset, quod adferret Quinto fratri meo aut offensionem tam gravem
 20 aut commutationem tantam voluntatis. Atque illud a me iam ante intellegebatur, quod te quoque ipsum discedentem a nobis suspicari videbam, subesse nescio quid opinionis incommodae sauciumque esse eius animum et insedissee quasdam odiosas suspiciones. Quibus ego me
 25 deri cum cuperem antea saepe et vehementius etiam post sortitionem provinciae, nec tantum intellegebam ei esse offensionis, quantum litterae tuae declararant, nec tantum proficiebam, quantum volebam. (2) Sed tamen hoc me ipse consolabar, quod non dubitabam, quin te ille aut

Dyrrachi aut in istis locis uspiam visurus esset; quod cum accidisset, confidebam ac mihi persuaseram, fore ut omnia placarentur inter vos non modo sermone ac disputatione, sed conspectu ipso congressuque vestro. Nam quanta sit in Quinto fratre meo comitas, quanta iucunditas, quam mollis animus et ad accipiendam et ad deponendam offensionem, nihil attinet me ad te, qui ea nosti, scribere. Sed accidit perincommode, quod cum nusquam vidisti. Valuit enim plus, quod erat illi non nullorum artificiiis inculcatum, quam aut officium aut necessitudo aut amor vester ille pristinus, qui plurimum valere debuit. (3) Atque huius incommodi culpa ubi resideat, facilius possum existimare quam scribere; vereor enim, ne, dum defendam meos, non parcam tuis. Nam sic intellego, ut nihil a domesticis vulneris factum sit, illud quidem, quod erat, eos certe sanare potuisse. Sed huiusce rei totius vitium, quod aliquanto etiam latius patet, quam videtur, praesenti tibi commodius exponam. (4) De iis litteris, quas ad te Thessalonica misit, et de sermonibus, quos ab illo et Romae apud amicos tuos et in itinere habitos putas, ecquid tantum causae sit, ignoro, sed omnis in tua posita est humanitate mihi spes huius levandae molestiae. Nam si ita statueris, et irritabiles animos esse optimorum saepe hominum et eosdem placabiles et esse hanc agilitatem, ut ita dicam, mollitiamque naturae plerumque bonitatis et, id quod caput est, nobis inter nos nostra sive incommoda sive vitia sive iniurias esse tolerandas, facile haec, quem ad modum spero, mitigabuntur; quod ego ut facias te oro. Nam ad me, qui te unice diligo, maxime pertinet neminem esse meorum, qui aut te non amet aut abs te non ametur.

(5) Illa pars epistolae tuae minime fuit necessaria, in

qua exponis, quas facultates aut provincialium aut urbanorum commodorum et aliis temporibus et me ipso consule praetermiseris. Mihi enim perspecta est et ingenuitas et magnitudo animi tui; neque ego inter me
5 atque te quicquam interesse umquam duxi praeter voluntatem institutae vitae, quod me ambitio quaedam ad honorum studium, te autem alia minime reprehendenda ratio ad honestum otium duxit. Vera quidem laude probitatis, diligentiae, religionis neque me tibi neque quem-
10 quam antepono, amoris vero erga me, cum a fraterno amore domesticoque discessi, tibi primas defero. (6) Vidi enim, vidi penitusque perspexi in meis variis temporibus et sollicitudines et laetitias tuas. Fuit mihi saepe et laudis nostrae gratulatio tua iucunda et timoris conso-
15 latio grata. Quin mihi nunc te absente non solum consilium, quo tu excellis, sed etiam sermonis communicatio, quae mihi suavissima tecum solet esse, maxime deest — quid dicam? in publicane re, quo in genere mihi neglegenti esse non licet, an in forensi labore, quem antea
20 propter ambitionem sustinebam, nunc, ut dignitatem tueri gratia possim, an in ipsis domesticis negotiis, in quibus ego cum antea tum vero post discessum fratris te sermonesque nostros desidero? Postremo non labor meus, non requies, non negotium, non otium, non forenses res,
25 non domesticae, non publicae, non privatae carere diutius tuo suavissimo atque amantissimo consilio ac sermone possunt.

(7) Atque harum rerum commemorationem verecundia saepe impedivit utriusque nostrum; nunc autem ea fuit
30 necessaria propter eam partem epistolae tuae, per quam te ac mores tuos mihi purgatos ac probatos esse voluisti. Atque in ista incommoditate alienati illius animi et offensi

illud inest tamen commodi, quod et mihi et ceteris amicis tuis nota fuit et abs te aliquando ante testificata tua voluntas omittendae provinciae, ut, quod una non estis, non dissensione ac discidio vestro, sed voluntate ac iudicio tuo factum esse videatur. Quare et illa, quae violata, expiabuntur, et haec nostra, quae sunt sanctissime conservata, suam religionem obtinebunt.

(8) Nos hic in re publica infirma, misera commutabilique versamur. Credo enim te audisse nostros equites paene a senatu esse diiunctos; qui primum illud valde graviter tulerunt, promulgatum ex senatus consulto fuisse, ut de eis, qui ob iudicandum acceperant, quaereretur. Qua in re decernenda cum ego casu non adfuissem sensissemque id equestrem ordinem ferre moleste neque aperte dicere, obiurgavi senatum, ut mihi visus sum, summa cum auctoritate et in causa non verecunda admodum gravis et copiosus fui. (9) Ecce aliae deliciae equitum vix ferendae! quas ego non solum tuli, sed etiam ornavi. Asiam qui de censoribus conduxerunt, questi sunt in senatu se cupiditate prolapsos nimium magno conduxisse, ut induceretur locatio, postulaverunt. Ego princeps in adiutoribus atque adeo sectundus; nam ut illi auderent hoc postulare, Crassus eos impulit. Invidiosa res, turpis postulatio et confessio temeritatis. Summum erat periculum, ne, si nihil impetrassent, plane alienarentur a senatu. Huic quoque rei subventum est maxime a nobis perfectumque, ut frequentissimo senatu et liberalissimo uterentur, multa a me de ordinum dignitate et concordia dicta sunt Kal. Decembr. et postridie. Neque adhuc res confecta est, sed voluntas senatus perspecta; unus enim contra dixerat Metellus consul designatus, eratque dicturus, ad quem propter diei brevitatem perventum non est, heros

- ille noster Cato. (10) Sic ego conservans rationem institutionemque nostram tueor, ut possum, illam a me conglutinatam concordiam. Sed tamen, quoniam ista sunt tam infirma, munitur quaedam nobis ad retinendas opes
5 nostras tuta, ut spero, via; quam tibi litteris satis explicare non possum, significatione parva ostendam tamen. Utor Pompeio familiarissime. Video, quid dicas. Cavebo, quae sunt cavenda, ac scribam alias ad te de meis consiliis capessendae rei publicae plura.
- 10 (11) Luceium scito consulatum habere in animo statim petere. Duo enim soli dicuntur petituri, Caesar — cum eo coire per Arrium cogitat — et Bibulus — cum hoc se putat per C. Pisonem posse coniungi. Rides? Non sunt haec ridicula, mihi crede. Quid aliud scribam ad te,
15 quid? Multa sunt, sed in aliud tempus. Si expectare velis, cures, ut sciam. Iam illud modeste rogo, quod maxime cupio, ut quam primum venias. Nonis Decembribus.

XI. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ROME, MARCH 15, 60)

Non modo si mihi tantum esset otii quantum est tibi,
20 verum etiam si tam breves epistulas vellem mittere, quam tu soles, facile te superarem et in scribendo multo essem crebrior quam tu. Sed ad summas atque incredibiles occupationes accedit, quod nullam a me volo epistulam ad te sine aliquo argumento ac sententia pervenire. Et
25 primum tibi, ut aequum est civi amanti patriam, quae sint in re publica, exponam; deinde, quoniam tibi amore nos proximi sumus, scribemus etiam de nobis ea, quae scire te non nolle arbitramur.

(2) Atque in re publica nunc quidem maxime Gallici

belli versatur metus. Nam Haedui fratres nostri pugnam nuper malam pugnarunt, et Helvetii sine dubio sunt in armis excursionisque in provinciam faciunt. Senatus decrevit, ut consules duas Gallias sortirentur, dilectus haberetur, vacationes ne valerent, legati cum auctoritate 5 mitterentur, qui adirent Galliae civitates darentque operam, ne eae se cum Helvetiis coniungerent. Legati sunt Q. Metellus Creticus et L. Flaccus et, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον, Lentulus Clodiani filius. (3) Atque hoc loco illud non queo praeterire, quod, cum de consularibus mea prima 10 sors exisset, una voce senatus frequens retinendum me in urbe censuit. Hoc idem post me Pompeio accidit, ut nos duo quasi pignora rei publicae retineri videremur. Quid enim ego aliorum in me ἐπιφωνήματα exspectem, cum haec domi mi nascantur?

15

(4) Urbanae autem res sic se habent. Agraria lex a Flavio tribuno pl. vehementer agitabatur auctore Pompeio; quae nihil populare habebat praeter auctorem. Ex hac ego lege secunda contionis voluntate omnia illa tollebam, quae ad privatorum incommodum pertinebant, liberabam 20 agrum eum, qui P. Mucio, L. Calpurnio consulibus publicus fuisset, Sullanorum hominum possessiones confirmabam, Volaterranos et Arretinos, quorum agros Sulla publicarat neque diviserat, in sua possessione retinebam; unam rationem non reiciebam, ut ager hac adventicia pe- 25 cunia emeretur, quae ex novis vectigalibus per quinquennium reciperentur. Huic toti rationi agrariae senatus adversabatur suspicans Pompeio novam quandam potentiam quaeri; Pompeius vero ad voluntatem perferendae legis incubuerat. Ego autem magna cum agrariorum 30 gratia confirmabam omnium privatorum possessiones; is enim est noster exercitus, hominum, ut tute scis, locuple-

tium ; populo autem et Pompeio — nam id quoque volebam — satis faciebam emptione, qua constituta diligenter et sentinam urbis exhauriri et Italiae solitudinem frequentari posse arbitrabar. Sed haec tota res interpellata
5 bello refrixerat. Metellus est consul sane bonus et nos admodum diligit ; ille alter nihil ita est, ut plane, quid emerit, nesciat. (5) Haec sunt in re publica, nisi etiam illud ad rem publicam putas pertinere, Herennium quendam, tribunum pl., tribulem tuum, sane hominem nequam
10 atque egentem, saepe iam de P. Clodio ad plebem traducendo agere coepisse. Huic frequenter interceditur. Haec sunt, ut opinor, in re publica.

(6) Ego autem, ut semel Nonarum illarum Decembrium iunctam invidia ac multorum inimiciis eximiam quandam
15 atque immortalem gloriam consecutus sum, non destiti eadem animi magnitudine in re publica versari et illam institutam ac susceptam dignitatem tueri, sed posteaquam primum Clodi absolute levitatem infirmitatemque iudiciorum perspexi, deinde vidi nostros publicanos facile
20 a senatu diiungi, quamquam a me ipso non divellerentur, tum autem beatos homines, hos piscinarios dico amicos tuos, non obscure nobis invidere, putavi mihi maiores quasdam opes et firmiora praesidia esse quaerenda. (7) Itaque primum, eum qui nimium diu de rebus nostris
25 tacuerat, Pompeium adduxi in eam voluntatem, ut in senatu non semel, sed saepe multisque verbis huius mihi salutem imperii atque orbis terrarum adiudicaret ; quod non tam interfuit mea — neque enim illae res aut ita sunt obscurae, ut testimonium, aut ita dubiae, ut laudationem
30 desiderent — quam rei publicae, quod erant quidam improbi, qui contentionem fore aliquam mihi cum Pompeio ex rerum illarum dissensione arbitrarentur. Cum

hoc ego me tanta familiaritate coniunxi, ut uterque nostrum in sua ratione munitior et in re publica firmior hac coniunctione esse possit. (8) Odia autem illa libidinosae et delicatae iuventutis, quae erant in me incitata, sic mitigata sunt comitate quadam mea, me unum ut omnes 5 illi colant; nihil iam denique a me asperum in quemquam fit nec tamen quicquam populare ac dissolutum, sed ita temperata tota ratio est, ut rei publicae constantiam praestem, privatis meis rebus propter infirmitatem bonorum, iniquitatem malevolorum, odium in me impro- 10 borum adhibeam quandam cautionem et diligentiam atque ita, tametsi his novis amicitiiis implicati sumus, ut crebro mihi vafer ille Siculus insusurret Epicharmus cantilenam illam suam :

‘Νᾱφε καὶ μέμνασ’ ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τᾶν φρενῶν.’ 15

Ac nostrae quidem rationis ac vitae quasi quandam formam, ut opinor, vides.

(9) De tuo negotio saepe ad me scribis. Cui mederi nunc non possumus; est enim illud senatus consultum summa pedariorum voluntate nullius nostrum auctoritate factum. 20 Nam quod me esse ad scribendum vides, ex ipso senatus consulto intellegere potes aliam rem tum relatam, hoc autem de populis liberis sine causa additum. Et ita factum est a P. Servilio filio, qui in postremis sententiam dixit, sed immutari hoc tempore non potest. Itaque con- 25 ventus, qui initio celebrabantur, iam diu fieri desierunt. Tu si tuis blanditiis tamen a Sicyoniis nummulorum aliquid expresseris, velim me facias certiolem.

(10) Commentarium consulatus mei Graece compositum misi ad te. In quo si quid erit, quod homini Attico minus 30 Graecum eruditumque videatur, non dicam, quod tibi, ut

opinor, Panhormi Lucullus de suis historiis dixerat, se, quo facilius illas probaret Romani hominis esse, idcirco barbara quaedam et soloeca dispersisse; apud me si quid erit eius modi, me imprudente erit et invito. Latinum si
 5 perfecero, ad te mittam. Tertium poema exspectato, ne quod genus a me ipso laudis meae praetermittatur. Hic tu cave dicas: 'Τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει;' Si est enim apud homines quicquam quod potius sit, laudetur, nos vituperemur, qui non potius alia laudemus? Quamquam non
 10 ἐγκωμιστικά sunt haec, sed ἱστορικά, quae scribimus.

(11) Quintus frater purgat se mihi per litteras et adfirmat nihil a se cuiquam de te secus esse dictum. Verum haec nobis coram summa cura et diligentia sunt agenda; tu modo nos revise aliquando. Cossinius hic, cui dedi
 15 litteras, valde mihi bonus homo et non levis et amans tui visus est et talis, qualem esse eum tuae mihi litterae nuntiant. Idibus Martiis.

XII. MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI S. (ROME, END OF 60
 OR BEGINNING OF 59)

Etsi non dubitabam, quin hanc epistolam multi nuntii, fama denique esset ipsa sua celeritate superatura, tuque
 20 ante ab aliis auditurus esses annum tertium accessisse desiderio nostro et labori tuo, tamen existimavi a me quoque tibi huius molestiae nuntium perferri oportere. Nam superioribus litteris non unis, sed pluribus, cum iam ab aliis desperata res esset, tamen tibi ego spem maturae
 25 decessionis adferebam, non solum ut quam diutissime te iucunda opinione oblectarem, sed etiam quia tanta adhibebatur et a nobis et a praetoribus contentio, ut rem posse confici non diffiderem. (2) Nunc, quoniam ita accidit, ut neque praetores suis opibus neque nos nostro

studio quicquam proficere possemus, est omnino difficile non graviter id ferre, sed tamen nostros animos maximis in rebus et gerendis et sustinendis exercitatos frangi et debilitari molestia non oportet. Et quoniam ea molestissime ferre homines debent, quae ipsorum culpa contracta sunt, est quiddam in hac re mihi molestius ferendum quam tibi. Factum est enim mea culpa contra, quam tu mecum et proficiscens et per litteras egeras, ut priore anno non succederetur; quod ego, dum salutis sociorum consulo, dum impudentiae non nullorum negotiatorum resisto, dum nostram gloriam tua virtute augeri expeto, feci non sapienter, praesertim cum id commiserim, ut ille alter annus etiam tertium posset adducere. (3) Quod quoniam peccatum meum esse confiteor, est sapientiae atque humanitatis tuae curare et perficere, ut hoc minus sapienter a me provisum diligentia tua corrigatur. Ac si te ipse vehementius ad omnes partes bene audiendi excitaris, non ut cum aliis, sed ut tecum iam ipse certes, si omnem tuam mentem, curam, cogitationem ad excellentis in omnibus rebus laudis cupiditatem incitaris, mihi crede, unus annus additus labori tuo multorum annorum laetitia nobis, immo vero etiam posteris nostris adferet. (4) Quapropter hoc te primum rogo, ne contrahas ac demittas animum neve te obrui tamquam fluctu sic magnitudine negotii sinas contraque erigas ac resistas sive etiam ultro occurras negotiis. Neque enim eius modi partem rei publicae geris, in qua fortuna dominetur, sed in qua plurimum ratio possit et diligentia. Quodsi tibi bellum aliquod magnum et periculosum administranti prorogatum imperium viderem, tremere animo, quod eodem tempore esse intellegerem etiam fortunae potestatem in nos prorogatam. (5) Nunc vere ea pars tibi rei publicae com-

missa est, in qua aut nullam aut perexiguam partem fortuna tenet, et quae mihi tota in tua virtute ac moderatione animi posita esse videatur. Nullas, ut opinor, insidias hostium, nullam proelii dimicationem, nullam defectionem
5 sociorum, nullam inopiam stipendii aut rei frumentariae, nullam seditionem exercitus pertimescimus, quae persaepe sapientissimis viris acciderunt, ut, quem ad modum gubernatores optimi vim tempestatis, sic illi fortunae impetum superare non possent. Tibi data est summa
10 pax, summa tranquillitas, ita tamen, ut ea dormientem gubernatorem vel obruere, vigilantem etiam delectare possit. (6) Constat enim ea provincia primum ex eo genere sociorum, quod est ex hominum omni genere humanissimum, deinde ex eo genere civium, qui aut, quod
15 publicani sunt, nos summa necessitudine attingunt, aut, quod ita negotiantur, ut locupletes sint, nostri consulatus beneficio se incolumes fortunas habere arbitrantur. (7) At enim inter hos ipsos existunt graves controversiae, multae nascuntur iniuriae, magnae contentiones consequuntur.
20 Quasi vero ego id putem, non te aliquantum negotii sustinere. Intellego permagnum esse negotium et maximi consilii, sed memento consilii me hoc esse negotium magis aliquanto quam fortunae putare. Quid est enim negotii continere eos, quibus praesis, si te ipse contineas? Id
25 autem sit magnum et difficile ceteris, sicut est difficillimum; tibi et fuit hoc semper facillimum et vero esse debuit, cuius natura talis est, ut etiam sine doctrina videatur moderata esse potuisse, ea autem adhibita doctrina est, quae vel vitiosissimam naturam excolere possit. Tu
30 cum pecuniae, cum voluptati, cum omnium rerum cupiditati resistes, ut facis, erit, credo, periculum, ne improbum negotiatorem, paulo cupidiores publicanum com-

primere non possis! Nam Graeci quidem sic te ita viventem intuebuntur, ut quendam ex annalium memoria aut etiam de caelo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum putent. (8) Atque haec nunc, non ut facias, sed ut te facere et fecisse gaudeas, scribo; praeclarum est enim summo cum imperio fuisse in Asia triennium sic, ut nullum te signum, nulla pictura, nullum vas, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cuiusquam, nulla condicio pecuniae, quibus rebus abundat ista provincia, ab summa integritate continentiaque deduxerit. (9) Quid autem reperiri tam eximium aut tam expetendum potest, quam istam virtutem, moderationem animi, temperantiam non latere in tenebris neque esse abditam, sed in luce Asiae in oculis clarissimae provinciae atque in auribus omnium gentium ac nationum esse positam? non itineribus tuis perterreri homines, non sumptu exauriri, non adventu commoveri? esse, quocumque veneris, et publice et privatim maximam laetitiam, cum urbs custodem, non tyrannum, domus hospitem, non expilatorem recepisse videatur?

20

(10) His autem in rebus iam te usus ipse profecto erudit nequaquam satis esse ipsum has te habere virtutes, sed esse circumspiciendum diligenter, ut in hac custodia provinciae non te unum, sed omnes ministros imperii tui sociis et civibus et rei publicae praestare videare. Quamquam legatos habes eos, qui ipsi per se habituri sint rationem dignitatis suae; de quibus honore et dignitate et aetate praestat Tubero, quem ego arbitror, praesertim cum scribat historiam, multos ex suis annalibus posse deligere, quos velit et possit imitari, Allienus autem noster est cum animo et benevolentia tum vero etiam imitatione vivendi. Nam quid ego de Gratidio dicam? quem certe

30

scio ita laborare de existimatione sua, ut propter amorem in nos fraternum etiam de nostra laboret. (11) Quae-storem habes non tuo iudicio delectum, sed eum quem sors dedit. Hunc oportet et sua sponte esse moderatum et
5 tuis institutis ac praeceptis obtemperare. Quorum si quis forte esset sordidior, ferres eatenus, quoad per se neglegeret eas leges, quibus esset astrictus, non ut ea potestate, quam tu ad dignitatem permisisses, ad quaestum uteretur. Neque enim mihi sane placet, praesertim cum
10 hi mores tantum iam ad nimiam lenitatem et ad ambitionem incubuerint, scrutari te omnes sordes, excutere unum quemque eorum, sed, quanta sit in quoque fides, tantum cuique committere. Atque inter hos eos, quos tibi comites et adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit
15 ipsa res publica, dumtaxat finibus iis praestabis, quos ante praescripsi; (12) quos vero aut ex domesticis convictionibus aut ex necessariis apparitionibus tecum esse voluisti, qui quasi ex cohorte praetoris appellari solent, horum non modo facta, sed etiam dicta omnia praestanda nobis
20 sunt. Sed habes eos tecum, quos possis recte facientes facile diligere, minus consulentes existimationi tuae facillime coercere. A quibus, rudis cum esses, videtur potuisse tua liberalitas decipi; nam, ut quisque est vir optimus, ita difficillime esse alios improbos suspicatur; nunc vero
25 tertius hic annus habeat integritatem eandem quam superiores, cautiorem etiam ac diligentiore. (13) Sint aures tuae eae, quae id, quod audiunt, existimentur audire, non in quas fecte et simulate quaestus causa insusurretur. Sit anulus tuus non ut vas aliquod, sed tamquam ipse tu,
30 non minister alienae voluntatis, sed testis tuae. Accensus sit eo numero, quo eum maiores nostri esse voluerunt, qui hoc non in beneficii loco, sed in laboris ac muneris non

temere nisi libertis suis deferebant, quibus illi quidem non multo secus ac servis imperabant. Sit lictor non suae saevitiae, sed tuae lenitatis apparitor, maioraque praeferant fascēs illi ac securēs dignitatis insignia quam potestatis. Toti denique sit provinciae cognitum tibi omnium, quibus praesis, salutem, liberos, famam, fortunas esse carissimas. Denique haec opinio sit, non modo iis, qui aliquid acceperint, sed iis etiam, qui dederint, te inimicum, si id cognoveris, futurum. Neque vero quisquam dabit, cum erit hoc perspectum, nihil per eos, qui simulant se apud te multum posse, abs te solere impetrari. (14) Nec tamen haec oratio mea est eius modi, ut te in tuos aut durum esse nimium aut suspiciosum velim. Nam si quis est eorum, qui tibi biennii spatio numquam in suspicionem avaritiae venerit, ut ego Caesium et Chaerippum et La-beonem et audio et, quia cognovi, existimo, nihil est, quod non et iis, et si quis est alius eiusdem modi, et committi et credi rectissime putem; sed si quis est, in quo iam offenderis, de quo aliquid senseris, huic nihil credideris, nullam partem existimationis tuae commiseris. 20

(15) In provincia vero ipsa si quem es nactus, qui in tuam familiaritatem penitus intrarit, qui nobis ante fuerit ignotus, huic quantum credendum sit vide, non quin possint multi esse provinciales viri boni, sed hoc sperare licet, iudicare periculosum est. Multis enim simulationum involucris tegitur et quasi velis quibusdam obtenditur unius cuiusque natura; frons, oculi, vultus persaepe mentiuntur, oratio vero saepissime. Quam ob rem qui potes reperire ex eo genere hominum, qui pecuniae cupiditate adducti careant iis rebus omnibus, a quibus nos divulsi esse non possumus, te autem, alienum hominem, ament ex animo ac non sui commodi causa simulent? Mihi 30

quidem permagnum videtur, praesertim si idem homines
privatum non fere quemquam, praetores semper omnes
amant. Quo ex genere si quem forte tui cognosti aman-
tiores — fieri enim potuit — quam temporis, hunc vero
5 ad tuum numerum libenter ascribito; sin autem id non
perspicias, nullum genus erit in familiaritate cavendum
magis, propterea quod et omnes vias pecuniae norunt et
omnia pecuniae causa faciunt et, quicum victuri non
sunt, eius existimationi consulere non curant. (16) Atque
10 etiam e Graecis ipsis diligenter cavendae sunt quaedam
familiaritates praeter hominum perpaucorum, si qui sunt
vetere Graecia digni; sic vero fallaces sunt permulti et
leves et diuturna servitute ad nimiam adsentationem eru-
diti. Quos ego universos adhiberi liberaliter, optimum
15 quemque hospitio amicitiaque coniungi dico oportere;
nimiae familiaritates eorum neque tam fideles sunt — non
enim audent adversari nostris voluntatibus — et invident
non nostris solum, verum etiam suis.

(17) Iam, qui in eius modi rebus, in quibus vereor etiam
20 ne durior sim, cautus esse velim ac diligens, quo me animo
in servis esse censes? quos quidem cum omnibus in locis
tum praecipue in provinciis regere debemus. Quo de
genere multa praecipi possunt, sed hoc et brevissimum
est et facillime teneri potest, ut ita se gerant in istis Asi-
25 aticis itineribus, ut si iter Appia via faceres, neve inter-
esse quicquam putent, utrum Trallis an Formias venerint.
Ac si quis est ex servis egregie fidelis, sit in domesticis
rebus et privatis; quae res ad officium imperii tui atque
ad aliquam partem rei publicae pertinebunt, de iis rebus
30 ne quid attingat. Multa enim quae recte committi servis
fidelibus possunt, tamen sermonis et vituperationis vitan-
dae causa committenda non sunt.

(18) Sed nescio quo pacto ad praecipendi rationem delapsa est oratio mea, cum id mihi propositum initio non fuisset. Quid enim ei praecipiam, quem ego in hoc praesertim genere intellegam prudentia non esse inferiorem quam me, usu vero etiam superiorem? Sed tamen, si ad 5 ea, quae faceres, auctoritas accederet mea, tibi ipsi illa putavi fore iucundiora. Quare sint haec fundamenta dignitatis tuae, tua primum integritas et continentia, deinde omnium, qui tecum sunt, pudor, delectus in familiaritatibus et provincialium hominum et Graecorum per-10 cautus et diligens, familiae gravis et constans disciplina.

(19) Quae cum honesta sint in his privatis nostris cotidianisque rationibus, in tanto imperio, tam depravatis moribus, tam corruptrice provincia divina videantur necesse est. Haec institutio atque haec disciplina potest sus-15 tinere in rebus statuendis et decernendis eam severitatem, qua tu in iis rebus usus es, ex quibus non nullas simultates cum magna mea laetitia susceptas habemus, nisi forte me Paconi nescio cuius, hominis ne Graeci quidem ac Mysi aut Phrygis potius, querelis moveri putas aut Tus-20 ceni, hominis furiosi ac sordidi, vocibus, cuius tu ex impurissimis faucibus inhonestissimam cupiditatem eripui isti summa cum aequitate.

(20) Haec et cetera plena severitatis, quae statuisti in ista provincia, non facile sine summa integritate sustineremus. Quare sit summa in 25 iure dicendo severitas, dum modo ea ne varietur gratia, sed conservetur aequabilis. Sed tamen parvi refert abs te ipso ius dici aequabiliter et diligenter, nisi idem ab iis fiet, quibus tu eius muneris aliquam partem concesseris. Ac mihi quidem videtur non sane magna varietas esse 30 negotiorum in administranda Asia, sed ea tota iuris dictione maxime sustineri; in qua scientiae praesertim pro-

vincialis ratio ipsa expedita est, constantia est adhibenda et gravitas, quae resistat non solum gratiae, verum etiam suspicioni.

(21) Adiungenda etiam est facilitas in audiendo, lenitas in decernendo, in satis faciendo ac disputando diligentia. His rebus nuper C. Octavius iucundissimus fuit, apud quem primus lictor quievit, tacuit accensus, quotiens quisque voluit, dixit, et quam voluit diu; quibus ille rebus fortasse nimis lenis videretur, nisi haec lenitas illam severitatem tueretur. Cogebantur Sullani homines, quae per vim et metum abstulerant, reddere; qui in magistratibus iniuriose decreverant, eodem ipsis privatis erat iure parendum. Haec illius severitas acerba videretur, nisi multis condimentis humanitatis mitigaretur. (22) Quodsi haec lenitas grata Romae est, ubi tanta adrogantia est, tam immoderata libertas, tam infinita hominum licentia, denique tot magistratus, tot auxilia, tanta populi vis, tanta senatus auctoritas, quam iucunda praetoris comitas in Asia potest esse! in qua tanta multitudo civium, tanta sociorum, tot urbes, tot civitates unius hominis nutum intuentur, ubi nullum auxilium est, nulla conquestio, nullus senatus, nulla contio. Quare permagni hominis est et cum ipsa natura moderati, tum vero etiam doctrina atque optimarum artium studiis eruditi, sic se adhibere in tanta potestate, ut nulla alia potestas ab iis, quibus is praesit, desideretur. (23) Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem iusti imperii, cuius summa gravitas ab illo philosopho cum singulari comitate coniungitur; quos quidem libros non sine causa noster ille Africanus de manibus ponere non solebat; nullum est enim praetermissum in iis officium diligentis et moderati imperii — eaque si sic coluit ille, qui privatus

futurus numquam fuit, quonam modo retinenda sunt ab iis, quibus imperium ita datum est, ut redderent, et ab iis legibus datum est, ad quas revertendum est?

(24) Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda iis, qui praesunt aliis, ut ii, qui erunt in eorum imperio, 5 sint quam beatissimi; quod tibi et esse antiquissimum et ab initio fuisse, ut primum Asiam attigisti, constanti fama atque omnium sermone celebratum est. Est autem non modo eius, qui sociis et civibus, sed etiam eius, qui servis, qui mutis pecudibus praesit, eorum, quibus praesit, 10 commodis utilitatique servire. (25) Cuius quidem generis constare inter omnes video abs te summam adhiberi diligentiam, nullum aes alienum novum contrahi civitatibus, vetere autem magno et gravi multas abs te esse liberatas, urbes complures dirutas ac paene desertas, in quibus 15 unam Ioniae nobilissimam, alteram Cariae, Samum et Halicarnassum, per te esse recreatas, nullas esse in oppidis seditiones, nullas discordias, provideri abs te, ut civitates optimatum consiliis administrentur, sublata Mysiae latrocinia, caedis multis locis repressas, pacem tota provincia constitutam, neque solum illa itinerum atque agrorum, sed multo etiam plura et maiora oppidorum et fanorum latrocinia esse depulsa, remotam a fama et fortunis et ab otio locupletium illam acerbissimam ministram praetorum avaritiae, calumniam, sumptus et tributa 25 civitatum ab omnibus, qui earum civitatum finis incolant, tolerari aequaliter, facillimos esse aditus ad te, patere auris tuas querelis omnium, nullius inopiam ac solitudinem non modo illo populari accessu ac tribunali, sed ne domo quidem et cubiculo esse exclusam tuo, toto 30 denique imperio nihil acerbum esse, nihil crudele atque omnia plena clementiae, mansuetudinis, humanitatis.

(26) Quantum vero illud est beneficium tuum, quod iniquo et gravi vectigali aedilicio cum magnis nostris simultatibus Asiam liberasti ! Etenim si unus homo nobilis queritur palam te, quod edixeris, ne ad ludos pecuniae
5 decernerentur, HS CC sibi eripuisse, quanta tandem pecunia penderetur, si omnium nomine, quicumque Romae ludos facerent, quod erat iam institutum, erogaretur ? Quamquam has querelas hominum nostrorum illo consilio oppressimus, quod in Asia nescio quonam modo, Romae
10 quidem non mediocri cum admiratione laudatur, quod, cum ad templum monumentumque nostrum civitates pecuniam decrevissent, cumque id et pro meis magnis meritis et pro tuis maximis beneficiis summa sua voluntate fecissent, nominatimque lex exciperet, ut ad templum
15 et monumentum capere liceret, cumque id, quod dabatur non esset interiturum, sed in ornamentis templi futurum, ut non mihi potius quam populo Romano ac dis immortalibus datum videretur, tamen id, in quo erat dignitas, erat lex, erat eorum, qui faciebant, voluntas, accipiendum
20 non putavi cum aliis de causis, tum etiam ut animo aequiore ferrent ii, quibus nec deberetur nec liceret. (27) Quapropter incumbe toto animo et studio omni in eam rationem, qua adhuc usus es, ut eos, quos tuae fidei potestatique senatus populusque Romanus commisit et credi-
25 dit, diligas et omni ratione tueare et esse quam beatissimos velis. Quodsi te sors Afris aut Hispanis aut Gallis prae-fecisset, immanibus ac barbaris nationibus, tamen esset humanitatis tuae consulere eorum commodis et utilitati salutique servire ; cum vero ei generi hominum praesimus,
30 non modo in quo ipsa sit, sed etiam a quo ad alios pervenisse putetur humanitas, certe iis eam potissimum tribuere debemus, a quibus accepimus. (28) Non enim

me hoc iam dicere pudebit, praesertim in ea vita atque iis rebus gestis, in quibus non potest residere inertiae aut levitatis ulla suspicio, nos ea, quae consecuti sumus, iis studiis et artibus esse adeptos, quae sint nobis Graeciae monumentis disciplinisque tradita. Quare praeter com-⁵munem fidem, quae omnibus debetur, praeterea nos isti hominum generi praecipue debere videmur, ut, quorum praeceptis sumus eruditi, apud eos ipsos, quod ab iis didicerimus, velimus expromere.

(29) Atque ille quidem princeps ingenii et doctrinae¹⁰ Plato, tum denique fore beatas res publicas putavit, si aut docti et sapientes homines eas regere coepissent, aut ii, qui regerent, omne suum studium in doctrina et sapientia conlocassent. Hanc coniunctionem videlicet potestatis et sapientiae saluti censuit civitatibus esse posse. Quod¹⁵ fortasse aliquando universae rei publicae nostrae, nunc quidem profecto isti provinciae contigit, ut is in ea summam potestatem haberet, cui in doctrina, cui in virtute atque humanitate percipienda plurimum a pueritia studii fuisset et temporis. (30) Quare cura, ut hic annus, qui²⁰ ad laborem tuum accessit, idem ad salutem Asiae prorogatus esse videatur. Quoniam in te retinendo fuit Asia felicior quam nos in deducendo, perfice, ut laetitia provinciae desiderium nostrum leniatur. Etenim si in promerendo, ut tibi tanti honores haberentur, quanti haud²⁵ scio an nemini, fuisti omnium diligentissimus, multo maiorem in his honoribus tuendis adhibere diligentiam debes. (31) Equidem de isto genere honorum quid sentirem, scripsi ad te ante. Semper eos putavi, si vulgares essent, vilis, si temporis causa constituerentur, levis; si³⁰ vero, id quod ita factum est, meritis tuis tribuerentur, existimabam multam tibi in his honoribus tuendis operam

esse ponendam. Quare, quoniam in istis urbibus cum summo imperio et potestate versaris, in quibus tuas virtutes consecratas et in deorum numero conlocatas vides, in omnibus rebus, quas statues, quas decernes, quas ages, 5 quid tantis hominum opinionibus, tantis de te iudiciis, tantis honoribus debeas, cogitabis. Id autem erit eius modi, ut consulas omnibus, ut medeare incommodis hominum, provideas saluti, ut te parentem Asiae et dici et haberi velis.

10 (32) Atqui huic tuae voluntati ac diligentiae difficultatem magnam adferunt publicani. Quibus si adversamur, ordinem de nobis optime meritum et per nos cum re publica coniunctum et a nobis et a re publica diiungemus; sin autem omnibus in rebus obsequemur, funditus eos 15 perire patiemur, quorum non modo saluti, sed etiam commodis consulere debemus. Haec est una, si vere cogitare volumus, in toto imperio tuo difficultas. Nam esse abstinentem, continere omnes cupiditates, suos coercere, iuris aequabilem tenere rationem, facilem se in rebus co- 20 gnoscendis, in hominibus audiendis admittendisque praebere, praeclarum magis est quam difficile; non est enim positum in labore aliquo, sed in quadam inductione animi et voluntate. (33) Illa causa publicanorum quantam acerbitatem adferat sociis, intelleximus ex civibus, qui 25 nuper in portoriis Italiae tollendis non tam de portorio quam de non nullis iniuriis portitorum querebantur. Quare non ignoro, quid sociis accidat in ultimis terris, cum audierim in Italia querelas civium. Hic te ita versari, ut et publicanis satis facias, praesertim publicis male redemp- 30 tis, et socios perire non sinas, divinae cuiusdam virtutis esse videtur, id est tuae. Ac primum Graecis id, quod acerbissimum est, quod sunt vectigales, non ita acerbum videri

debet, propterea quod sine imperio populi Romani suis institutis per se ipsi ita fuerunt. Nomen autem publicani aspernari non possunt, qui pendere ipsi vectigal sine publicano non potuerint, quod iis aequaliter Sulla discripserat. Non esse autem leniores in exigendis vectigalibus Graecos 5 quam nostros publicanos hinc intellegi potest, quod Caunii nuper omnesque ex insulis, quae erant a Sulla Rhodiis attributae, confugerunt ad senatum, nobis ut potius vectigal quam Rhodiis penderent. Quare nomen publicani neque ii debent horrere, qui semper vectigales fuerunt, 10 neque ii aspernari, qui per se pendere vectigal non potuerunt, neque ii recusare, qui postulaverunt. (34) Simul et illud Asia cogitet, nullam ab se neque belli externi neque domesticarum discordiarum calamitatem afuturam fuisse, si hoc imperio non teneretur. Id autem imperium cum 15 retineri sine vectigalibus nullo modo possit, aequo animo parte aliqua suorum fructuum pacem sibi sempiternam redimat atque otium. (35) Quodsi genus ipsum et nomen publicani non iniquo animo sustinebunt, poterunt iis consilio et prudentia tua reliqua videri mitiora; possunt in 20 pactionibus faciendis non legem spectare censoriam, sed potius commoditatem conficiendi negotii et liberationem molestiae; potes etiam tu id facere, quod et fecisti egregie et facis, ut commemores, quanta sit in publicanis dignitas, quantum nos illi ordini debeamus, ut remoto imperio ac 25 vi potestatis et fascium publicanos cum Graecis gratia atque auctoritate coniungas et ab iis, de quibus optime tu meritus es, et qui tibi omnia debent, hoc petas, ut facilitate sua nos eam necessitudinem, quae est nobis cum publicanis, obtinere et conservare patiantur. 30

(36) Sed quid ego te haec hortor, quae tu non modo facere potes tua sponte sine cuiusquam praeceptis, sed etiam

magna iam ex parte perfecisti? Non enim desistunt nobis agere cotidie gratias honestissimae et maximae societates; quod quidem mihi idcirco iucundius est, quod idem faciunt Graeci; difficile est autem ea, quae commodis, utilitate et prope natura diversa sunt, voluntate coniungere. At ea quidem, quae supra scripta sunt, non ut te instituerem, scripsi — neque enim prudentia tua cuiusquam praecepta desiderat — sed me in scribendo commemoratio tuae virtutis delectavit; quamquam in his litteris longior
10 fui quam aut vellem aut quam me putavi fore.

(37) Unum est, quod tibi ego praecipere non desinam, neque te patiar, quantum erit in me, cum exceptione laudari. Omnes enim, qui istinc veniunt, ita de tua virtute, integritate, humanitate commemorant, ut in tuis summis
15 laudibus excipiant unam iracundiam; quod vitium cum in hac privata cotidianaque vita levis esse animi atque infirmi videtur, tum vero nihil est tam deforme quam ad summum imperium etiam acerbitatem naturae adiungere. Quare illud non suscipiam, ut, quae de iracundia dici
20 solent a doctissimis hominibus, ea nunc tibi exponam, cum et nimis longus esse nolim et ex multorum scriptis ea facile possis cognoscere; illud, quod est epistolae proprium, ut is, ad quem scribitur, de iis rebus, quas ignorat, certior fiat, praetermittendum esse non puto. (38) Sic ad nos
25 omnes fere deferunt, nihil, cum absit iracundia, te fieri posse iucundius, sed cum te alicuius improbitas perversitasque commoverit, sic te animo incitari, ut ab omnibus tua desideretur humanitas. Quare, quoniam in eam rationem vitae nos non tam cupiditas quaedam gloriae quam
30 res ipsa ac fortuna deduxit, ut sempiternus sermo hominum de nobis futurus sit, caveamus, quantum efficere et consequi possumus, ut ne quod in nobis insigne vitium fuisse

dicatur. Neque ego nunc hoc contendo, quod fortasse cum in omni natura tum iam in nostra aetate difficile est, mutare animum et, si quid est penitus insitum moribus, id subito evellere, sed te illud admoneo, ut, si hoc plene vitare non potes, quod ante occupatur animus ab iracundia, 5 quam providere ratio potuit, ne occuparetur, ut te ante compares cotidieque meditere resistendum esse iracundiae, cumque ea maxime animum moveat, tum tibi esse diligentissime linguam continendam; quae quidem mihi virtus interdum non minor videtur quam omnino non irasci. 10 Nam illud est non solum gravitatis, sed non numquam etiam lentitudinis; moderari vero et animo et orationi, cum sis iratus, aut etiam tacere et tenere in sua potestate motum animi et dolorem, etsi non est perfectae sapientiae, tamen est non mediocris ingenii. (39) Atque in hoc 15 genere multo te esse iam commodiorem mitioremque nuntiant. Nullae tuae vehementiores animi concitationes, nulla maledicta ad nos, nullae contumeliae perferuntur, quae cum abhorrent a litteris, ab humanitate, tum vero contraria sunt imperio ac dignitati; nam si implacabiles 20 iracundiae sunt, summa est acerbitas, sin autem exorabiles, summa levitas, quae tamen ut in malis acerbitati anteponenda est.

(40) Sed, quoniam primus annus habuit de hac reprehensione plurimum sermonis, credo, propterea quod tibi 25 hominum iniuriae, quod avaritia, quod insolentia praeter opinionem accidebat et intolerabilis videbatur, secundus autem multo lenior, quod et consuetudo et ratio, et, ut ego arbitror, meae quoque litterae te patientiorem lenioremque fecerunt, tertius annus ita debet esse emenda- 30 tus, ut ne minimam quidem rem quisquam possit ullam reprehendere. (41) Ac iam hoc loco non hortatione neque

praeceptis, sed precibus tecum fraternis ago, totum ut
animum, curam cogitationemque tuam ponas in omnium
laude undique colligenda. Quodsi in mediocri statu ser-
monis ac praedicationis nostrae res essent, nihil abs te
5 eximium, nihil praeter aliorum consuetudinem postu-
laretur. Nunc vero propter earum rerum, in quibus ver-
sati sumus, splendorem et magnitudinem, nisi summam
laudem ex ista provincia adsequimur, vix videmur sum-
mam vituperationem posse vitare. Ea nostra ratio est,
10 ut omnes boni cum faveant tum etiam omnem a nobis dili-
gentiam virtutemque et postulent et exspectent, omnes
autem improbi, quod cum iis bellum sempiternum sus-
cepimus, vel minima re ad reprehendendum contenti esse
videantur. (42) Quare, quoniam eius modi theatrum
15 totius Asiae virtutibus tuis est datum celebritate refer-
tissimum, magnitudine amplissimum, iudicio eruditissi-
mum, natura autem ita resonans, ut usque Romam sig-
nificationes vocesque referantur, contende, quaeso, atque
elabora, non modo ut his rebus dignus fuisse, sed etiam ut
20 illa omnia tuis artibus superasse videare (43) et quoniam
mihi casus urbanam in magistratibus administrationem
rei publicae, tibi provincialem dedit, si mea pars nemini
cedit, fac, ut tua ceteros vincat. Simul et illud cogita,
nos non de reliqua et sperata gloria iam laborare, sed de
25 parta dimicare, quae quidem non tam expetenda nobis
fuit quam tuenda est. Ac si mihi quicquam esset abs te
separatum, nihil amplius desiderarem hoc statu, qui mihi
iam partus est. Nunc vero sic res sese habet, ut, nisi
omnia tua facta atque dicta nostris rebus istinc respon-
30 deant, ego me tantis meis laboribus tantisque periculis,
quorum tu omnium particeps fuisti, nihil consecutum
putem. Quodsi, ut amplissimum nomen consequeremur,

unus praeter ceteros adiuvisi, certe idem, ut id retineamus, praeter ceteros elaborabis. Non est tibi his solis utendum existimationibus ac iudiciis, qui nunc sunt, hominum, sed iis etiam, qui futuri sunt; quamquam illorum erit verius iudicium obtrectatione et malevolentia 5 liberatum. (44) Denique etiam illud debes cogitare, non te tibi soli gloriam quaerere. Quod si esset, tamen non neglegeres, praesertim cum amplissimis monumentis consecrare voluisses memoriam nominis tui. Sed ea est tibi communicanda mecum, prodenda liberis nostris; in qua 10 cavendum est, ne si neglegentior fueris, tibi parum consuluisse, sed etiam tuis invidisse videaris.

(45) Atque haec non eo dicuntur, ut te oratio mea dormientem excitasse, sed potius ut currentem incitasse videatur. Facies enim perpetuo, quae fecisti, ut omnes 15 aequitatem tuam, temperantiam, severitatem integritatemque laudarent. Sed me quaedam tenet propter singularem amorem infinita in te aviditas gloriae. Quamquam illud existimo, cum iam tibi Asia sic uti uni cuique sua domus nota esse debeat, cum ad tuam summam prudentiam tantus usus accesserit, nihil esse, quod ad laudem attineat, quod non tu optime perspicias et tibi non sine cuiusquam hortatione in mentem veniat cotidie. Sed ego, quia, cum tua lego, te audire, et quia, cum ad te scribo, tecum loqui videor, idcirco et tua longissima quaque 25 epistula delector et ipse in scribendo sum saepe longior.

(46) Illud te ad extremum et oro et hortor, ut, tamquam poetae boni et actores industrii solent, sic tu in extrema parte et conclusione muneris ac negotii tui tamquam tertius actus perfectissimus atque ornatissimus fuisse videatur. 30 Id facillime facies, si me, cui semper uni magis quam universis placere voluisti, tecum semper esse putabis et

omnibus iis rebus, quas dices et facies, interesse. Reliquum est, ut te orem, ut valetudini tuae, si me et tuos omnes valere vis, diligentissime servias.

XIII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (FORMIANUM, APRIL, 59)

Narro tibi, plane relegatus mihi videor, posteaquam in
 5 Formiano sum. Dies enim nullus erat, Anti cum essem, quo die non melius scirem, Romae quid ageretur quam ii, qui erant Romae. Etenim litterae tuae, non solum quid Romae, sed etiam quid in re publica, neque quid fieret, verum etiam quid futurum esset, indicabant. Nunc, nisi
 10 si quid ex praetereunte viatore exceptum est, scire nihil possumus. Quare, quamquam iam te ipsum exspecto, tamen isti puero, quem ad me statim iussi recurrere, da ponderosam aliquam epistulam plenam omnium non modo actorum, sed etiam opinionum tuarum, ac diem, quo Roma
 15 sis exiturus, cura ut sciam. (2) Nos in Formiano esse volumus usque ad prid. Nonas Maias. Eo si ante eam diem non veneris, Romae te fortasse videbo; nam Arpinum quid ego te invitem?

20 'Τρηχεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος, οὗτ' ἄρ' ἔγωγε
 ἥς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ιδέσθαι.'

Haec igitur. Cura ut valeas.

XIV. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ROME, JULY, 59)

Multa me sollicitant et ex rei publicae tanto motu et ex
 iis periculis, quae mihi ipsi intenduntur et sescenta sunt;
 sed mihi nihil est molestius quam Statium manu missum :
 25 'Néc meum imperium, ac mîtto imperium, nón simultatém meam
 Reveréri saltem!'

Nec quid faciam scio, neque tantum est in re, quantus est sermo. Ego autem ne irasci possum quidem iis, quos valde amo; tantum doleo ac mirifice quidem. Cetera in magnis rebus. Minae Clodi contentionesque, quae mihi proponuntur, modice me tangunt; etenim vel subire eas 5 videor mihi summa cum dignitate vel declinare nulla cum molestia posse. Dices fortasse: 'Dignitatis ἀλὺς tamquam δρῦός, saluti, si me amas, consule.' Me miserum! cur non ades? nihil profecto te praeteriret. Ego fortasse τυφλώττω et nimium τῷ καλῷ προσπέπονθα. (2) Scito nihil umquam 10 fuisse tam infame, tam turpe, tam peraeque omnibus generibus, ordinibus, aetatibus offensum quam hunc statum, qui nunc est, magis mehercule, quam vellem, non modo quam putarem. Populares isti iam etiam modestos homines sibilare docuerunt. Bibulus in caelo est, nec 15 quare scio, sed ita laudatur, quasi

'Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.'

Pompeius, nostri amores, quod mihi summo dolori est, ipse se adflixit. Neminem tenent voluntate; ne metu necesse sit iis uti, vereor. Ego autem neque pugno cum 20 illa causa propter illam amicitiam neque approbo, ne omnia improbem, quae antea gessi; utor via. (3) Populi sensus maxime theatro et spectaculis perspectus est; nam gladiatoribus qua dominus qua advocati sibilis conscissi; ludis Apollinaribus Diphilus tragoedus in nostrum Pom- 25 peium petulanter invectus est:

'Nóstra miseríá tu es magnus —'

miliens coactus est dicere;

'Éandem virtutem ístam veniet témpus cum gravitér gemes'

totius theatri clamore dixit itemque cetera. Nam et eius modi sunt ii versus, uti in tempus ab inimico Pompei scripti esse videantur :

‘Si neque leges neque mores cogunt —,’

5 et cetera magno cum fremitu et clamore sunt dicta. Caesar cum venisset mortuo plausu, Curio filius est insecutus. Huic ita plausum est, ut salva re publica Pompeio plaudire solebat. Tulit Caesar graviter. Litterae Capuam ad Pompeium volare dicebantur. Inimici erant equitibus,
10 qui Curioni stantes plauserant, hostes omnibus; Rosciae legi, etiam frumentariae minitabantur. Sane res erat perturbata. Equidem malueram, quod erat susceptum ab illis, silentio transiri, sed vereor ne non liceat. Non ferunt homines, quod videtur esse tamen ferendum; sed
15 est iam una vox omnium magis odio firmata quam praesidio.

(4) Noster autem Publius mihi minitatur, inimicus est. Impendit negotium, ad quod tu scilicet advolabis. Videor mihi nostrum illum consularem exercitum bonorum
20 omnium, etiam satis bonorum habere firmissimum. Pompeius significat studium erga me non mediocre; idem adfirmat verbum de me illum non esse facturum; in quo non me ille fallit, sed ipse fallitur. Cosconio mortuo sum in eius locum invitatus. Id erat vocari in locum mortui.
25 Nihil me turpius apud homines fuisset neque vero ad istam ipsam ἀσφάλειαν quicquam alienius. Sunt enim illi apud bonos invidiosi, ego apud improbos meam retinuissem invidiam, alienam adsumpsissem. (5) Caesar me sibi vult esse legatum. Honestior declinatio haec periculi;
30 sed ego hoc non repudio. Quid ergo est? pugnare malo. Nihil tamen certi. Iterum dico ‘utinam adesses!’ Sed

tamen, si erit necesse, arcessemus. Quid aliud? quid? Hoc opinor. Certi sumus perisse omnia; quid enim ἀκκιζόμεθα tam diu?

Sed haec scripsi properans et mehercule timide. Post-hac ad te aut, si perfidelem habebo cui dem, scribam plane 5 omnia, aut, si obscure scribam, tu tamen intelleges. In iis epistulis me Laelium, te Furium faciam; cetera erunt ἐν αἰνιγμαῖς. Hic Caecilium colimus et observamus diligenter. Edicta Bibuli audio ad te missa. Iis ardet dolore et ira noster Pompeius.

10

XV. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ROME, BETWEEN JULY 25
AND OCTOBER 18, 59)

Quam vellem Romae mansisses! Mansisses profecto, si haec fore putassemus. Nam Pulchellum nostrum facillime teneremus aut certe, quid esset facturum, scire possemus. Nunc se res sic habet. Volitat, furit; nihil habet certi, multis denuntiat, quod fors obtulerit, id acturus videtur; 15 cum videt, quo sit in odio status hic rerum, in eos, qui haec egerunt, impetum facturum videtur; cum autem rursus opes eorum et exercitus recordatur, convertit se in bonos, nobis autem ipsis tum vim, tum iudicium minatur. (2) Cum hoc Pompeius egit et, ut ad me ipse referebat — 20 alium enim habeo neminem testem — vehementer egit, cum diceret in summa se perfidiae et sceleris infamia fore, si mihi periculum crearetur ab eo, quem ipse armasset, cum plebeium fieri passus esset. Fidem recepisse sibi et ipsum et Appium de me. Hanc si ille non servaret, 25 ita laturum, ut omnes intellegerent nihil sibi antiquius amicitia nostra fuisse. Haec et in eam sententiam cum multa dixisset, aiebat illum primo sane diu multa contra,

ad extremum autem manus dedisse et adfirmasse nihil se contra eius voluntatem esse facturum. Sed postea tamen ille non destitit de nobis asperrime loqui. Quodsi non faceret, tamen ei nihil crederemus atque omnia, sicut facimus, pararemus.

(3) Nunc ita nos gerimus, ut in dies singulos et studia in nos hominum et opes nostrae augeantur; rem publicam nulla ex parte attingimus, in causis atque in illa opera nostra forensi summa industria versamur; quod egregie non modo iis, qui utuntur opera, sed etiam in vulgus gratum esse sentimus. Domus celebratur, occurritur, renovatur memoria consulatus, studia significantur; in eam spem adducimur, ut nobis ea contentio, quae impendet, interdum non fugienda videatur.

(4) Nunc mihi et consiliis opus est tuis et amore et fide. Quare advola. Expedita mihi erunt omnia, si te habebo. Multa per Varronem nostrum agi possunt, quae te urgente erunt firmiora, multa ab ipso Publio elici, multa cognosci, quae tibi occulta esse non poterunt, multa etiam — sed absurdum est singula explicare, cum ego requiram te ad omnia. (5) Unum illud tibi persuadeas velim, omnia mihi fore explicata, si te videro; sed totum est in eo, si ante quam ille ineat magistratum. Puto Pompeium Crasso urgente, si tu aderis, qui per *βοῶπιν* ex ipso intellegere possis, qua fide ab illis agatur, nos aut sine molestia aut certe sine errore futuros. Precibus nostris et cohortatione non indiges; quid mea voluntas, quid tempus, quid rei magnitudo postulet intellegis.

(6) De re publica nihil habeo ad te scribere nisi summum odium omnium hominum in eos, qui tenent omnia. Mutationis tamen spes nulla. Sed, quod facile sentias, taedet ipsum Pompeium vehementerque paenitet. Non pro-

video satis, quem exitum futurum putem; sed certe videntur haec aliquo eruptura.

(7) Libros Alexandri, neglegentis hominis et non boni poetae, sed tamen non inutilis, tibi remisi. Numerium Numestium libenter accepi in amicitiam et hominem gravem 5 et prudentem et dignum tua commendatione cognovi.

XVI. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ROME, BEFORE OCTOBER
18, 59)

Numquam ante arbitror te epistulam meam legisse nisi mea manu scriptam. Ex eo colligere poteris, quanta occupatione distinear. Nam cum vacui temporis nihil haberem, et cum recreandae vocolae causa necesse esset mihi ambulare, haec dictavi ambulans. (2) Primum igitur illud te scire volo, Sampsiceramum, nostrum amicum, vehementer sui status paenitere restituique in eum locum cupere, ex quo decedit, doloremque suum impertire nobis et medicinam interdum aperte quaerere, quam ego invenire possum 15 nullam; deinde omnes illius partis auctores ac socios nullo adversario consenescere, consensionem universorum nec voluntatis nec sermonis maiorem umquam fuisse.

(3) Nos autem — nam id te scire cupere certe scio — publicis consiliis nullis intersumus totosque nos ad forensem operam laboremque contulimus. Ex quo, quod facile intelligi possit, in multa commemoratione earum rerum, quas gessimus, desiderioque versamur. Sed *βοώπιδος* nostrae consanguineus non mediocres terrores iacit atque denuntiat et Sampsiceramo negat, ceteris prae se fert et 25 ostentat. Quam ob rem, si me amas tantum, quantum profecto amas, si dormis, expergiscere, si stas, ingredi, si ingrederis, curre, si curris, advola. Credibile non est,

quantum ego in consiliis et prudentia tua, quodque maximum est, quantum in amore et fide ponam. Magnitudo rei longam orationem fortasse desiderat, coniunctio vero nostrorum animorum brevitatem contenta est. Permagni
5 nostra interest te, si comitiis non potueris, at declarato illo esse Romae. Cura ut valeas.

XVII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (THURII, APRIL 10, 58)

Terentia tibi et saepe et maximas agit gratias. Id est mihi gratissimum. Ego vivo miserrimus et maximo dolore conficior. Ad te quid scribam nescio. Si enim es
10 Romae, iam me adsequi non potes, sin es in via, cum eris me adsecutus, coram agemus, quae erunt agenda. Tantum te oro, ut, quoniam me ipsum semper amasti, nunc eodem amore sis; ego enim idem sum. Inimici mei mea mihi, non me ipsum ademerunt. Cura ut valeas. Data
15 IIII Idus April. Thuri.

XVIII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ON THE WAY INTO EXILE, BETWEEN VIBO AND BRUNDISIUM, APRIL 13, 59)

Miseriae nostrae potius velim quam inconstantiae tribuas, quod a Vibone, quo te arcessebamus, subito discessimus. Allata est enim nobis rogatio de pernicie mea; in qua quod correctum esse audieramus, erat eius modi, ut
20 mihi ultra quadringenta milia liceret esse, illo pervenire non liceret. Statim iter Brundisium versus contuli ante diem rogationis, ne et Sicca, apud quem eram, periret, et quod Melitae esse non licebat. Nunc tu propera, ut nos consequare, si modo recipiemur. Adhuc invitamur benigne,
25 sed quod superest timemus. Me, mi Pomponi, valde

paenitet vivere ; qua in re apud me tu plurimum valuisti. Sed haec coram. Fac modo ut venias.

XIX. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ON HIS ESTATE NEAR TARENT, APRIL 18, 58)

Non fuerat mihi dubium, quin te Tarenti aut Brundisi visurus essem, idque ad multa pertinuit, in eis, et ut in Epiro consisteremus et de reliquis rebus tuo consilio⁵ uteremur. Quoniam id non contigit, erit hoc quoque in magno numero nostrorum malorum. Nobis iter est in Asiam, maxime Cyzicum. Meos tibi commendo. Me vix misereque sustento. Data XIII K. Maias de Tarentino.

10

XX. TULLIUS S.D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIAE ET CICERONI SUIS. (BRUNDISIUM, APRIL 30, 58)

Ego minus saepe do ad vos litteras quam possum, propterea quod cum omnia mihi tempora sunt misera, tum vero, cum aut scribo ad vos aut vestras lego, conficior lacrimis sic, ut ferre non possim. Quod utinam minus vitae cupidi fuissemus ! Certe nihil aut non multum in vita mali¹⁵ vidissemus. Quodsi nos ad aliquam alicuius commodi aliquando recuperandi spem fortuna reservavit, minus est erratum a nobis ; si haec mala fixa sunt, ego vero te quam primum, mea vita, cupio videre et in tuo complexu emori, quoniam neque dii, quos tu castissime coluisti,²⁰ neque homines, quibus ego semper servivi, nobis gratiam rettulerunt.

(2) Nos Brundisi apud M. Laenium Flaccum dies XIII fuimus, virum optimum, qui periculum fortunarum et capitis sui prae mea salute neglexit neque legis impro-²⁵

bissimae poena deductus est, quo minus hospitii et amicitiae ius officiumque praestaret. Huic utinam aliquando gratiam referre possimus! Habebimus quidem semper. Brundisio profecti sumus a. d. II K. Mai.; per Macedoniam Cyzicum petebamus.

O me perditum, o afflictum! Quid nunc rogem te, ut venias, mulierem aegram et corpore et animo confectam? Non rogem? sine te igitur sim? Opinor, sic agam: si est spes nostri reditus, eam confirmes et rem adiuves; sin,
10 ut ego metuo, transactum est, quoquo modo potes, ad me fac venias. Unum hoc scito: si te habebo, non mihi videbor plane perisse. Sed quid Tulliola mea fiet? Iam id vos videte; mihi dest consilium. Sed certe, quoquo modo se res habebit, illius misellae et matrimonio et
15 famae serviendum est. Quid? Cicero meus quid aget? Iste vero sit in sinu semper et complexu meo. Non queo plura iam scribere; impedit maeror. Tu quid egeris nescio; utrum aliquid teneas an, quod metuo, plane sis spoliata. (4) Pisonem, ut scribis, spero fore semper nos-
20 trum. De familia liberata nihil est quod te moveat. Primum tuis ita promissum est, te facturam esse, ut quisque esset meritus; est autem in officio adhuc Orpheus, praeterea magnopere nemo; ceterorum servorum ea causa est, ut, si res a nobis abisset, liberti nostri essent, si obtinere
25 potuissent; sin ad nos pertinerent, servirent praeterquam oppido pauci. Sed haec minora sunt.

(5) Tu quod me hortaris, ut animo sim magno et spem habeam recuperandae salutis, id velim sit eius modi, ut recte sperare possimus. Nunc miser quando tuas litteras
30 accipiam? quis ad me perferet? Quas ego exspectassem Brundisi, si esset licitum per nautas, qui tempestatem praetermittere noluerunt. Quod reliquum est, sustenta te, mea

Terentia, ut potes honestissime. Viximus, floruimus ; non vitium nostrum, sed virtus nostra nos adflixit ; peccatum est nullum, nisi quod non una animam cum ornamentis amisimus. Sed si hoc fuit liberis nostris gratius, nos vivere, cetera, quamquam ferenda non sunt, feramus.⁵ Atque ego, qui te confirmo, ipse me non possum. (6) Clodium Philhetaerum, quod valetudine oculorum impediabatur, hominem fidelem, remisi. Salustius officio vincit omnes. Pescennius est perbenevolus nobis ; quem semper spero tui fore observantem. Sicca dixerat se mecum¹⁰ fore, sed Brundisio discessit. Cura, quod potes, ut valeas, et sic existimes, me vehementius tua miseria quam mea commoveri. Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor, et mea carissima filiola et spes reliqua nostra, Cicero, valete. Pr. K. Mai. Brundisio.

15

XXI. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (BRUNDISIUM, APRIL 30, 58)

Brundisium veni a. d. XIII Kal. Maias. Eo die pueri tui mihi a te litteras reddiderunt, et alii pueri post diem tertium eius diei alias litteras attulerunt. Quod me rogas et hortaris, ut apud te in Epiro sim, voluntas tua mihi valde grata est et minime nova. Esset consilium mihi²⁰ quidem optatum, si liceret ibi omne tempus consumere ; odi enim celebritatem, fugio homines, lucem aspicere vix possum, esset mihi ista solitudo, praesertim tam familiari in loco, non amara ; sed itineris causa ut devorterer, primum est devium, deinde ab Autronio et ceteris qua-²⁵ dridui, deinde sine te. Nam castellum munitum habitanti mihi prodesset, transeunti non est necessarium. Quod si auderem, Athenas peterem. Sane ita cadebat, ut vellem. Nunc et nostri hostes ibi sunt, et te non habemus et vere-

mur, ne interpretentur illud quoque oppidum ab Italia non satis abesse, nec scribis, quam ad diem te exspectemus.

(2) Quod me ad vitam vocas, unum efficis, ut a me manus abstinenceam, alterum non potes, ut me non nostri consilii
5 vitaeque paeniteat. Quid enim est, quod me retineat, praesertim si spes ea non est, quae nos proficiscentes prosequeretur? Non faciam, ut enumerem misérias omnes, in quas incidi per summam iniuriam et scelus non tam inimicorum meorum quam invidorum, ne et meum maero-
10 rem exagitem et te in eundem luctum vocem; hoc adfirmo, neminem umquam tanta calamitate esse adfectum, nemini mortem magis optandam fuisse. Cuius oppetendae tempus honestissimum praetermissum est, reliqua tempora sunt non iam ad medicinam, sed ad finem doloris.

15 (3) De re publica video te colligere omnia, quae putes aliquam spem mihi posse adferre mutandarum rerum. Quae quamquam exigua sunt, tamen, quoniam placet, exspectemus. Tu nihilo minus, si properaris, nos consequere; nam aut accedemus in Epirum aut tarde per
20 Candaviam ibimus. Dubitationem autem de Epiro non inconstantia nostra adferebat, sed quod de fratre, ubi eum visuri essemus, nesciebamus; quem quidem ego nec quo modo visurus nec ut dimissurus sim, scio. Id est maximum et miserrimum mearum omnium miseriarum. Ego
25 et saepius ad te et plura scriberem, nisi mihi dolor meus cum omnes partes mentis tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademisset. Videre te cupio. Cura ut valeas. Data pr. Kal. Mai. Brundisi.

XXII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (THESSALONICA, JUNE 13, 58)

Quintus frater cum ex Asia discessisset ante Kal. Maias
30 et Athenas venisset Idibus, valde fuit ei properandum, ne

quid absens acciperet calamitatis, si quis forte fuisset, qui contentus nostris malis non esset. Itaque eum malui properare Romam quam ad me venire et simul — dicam enim, quod verum est, ex quo magnitudinem miseriarum mearum perspicere possis — animum inducere non potui, 5 ut aut illum amantissimum mei, mollissimo animo tanto in maerore aspicirem aut meas miseras luctu adflictas et perditam fortunam illi offerrem aut ab illo aspici paterer. Atque etiam illud timebam, quod profecto accidisset, ne a me digredi non posset. Versabatur mihi tempus illud 10 ante oculos, cum ille aut lictores dimitteret aut vi aveleretur ex complexu meo. Huius acerbitatis eventum altera acerbitate non videndi fratris vitavi. In hunc me casum vos vivendi auctores impulistis. Itaque mei peccati luo poenas. (2) Quamquam me tuae litterae sus- 15 tentant, ex quibus, quantum tu ipse speres, facile perspicio; quae quidem tamen aliquid habebant solacii, antequam eo venisti a Pompeio. 'Nunc Hortensium allice et eius modi viros.' Obsecro, mi Pomponi, nondum perspicis, quorum opera, quorum insidiis, quorum scelere 20 perierimus? Sed tecum haec omnia coram agemus; tantum dico, quod scire te puto, nos non inimici, sed invidi perdiderunt. Nunc, si ita sunt, quae speras, sustinebimus nos et spe, qua iubes, nitemur; sin, ut mihi videntur, firma sunt, quod optimo tempore facere non licuit, minus 25 idoneo fiet.

(3) Terentia tibi saepe agit gratias. Mihi etiam unum de malis in metu est, fratris miseri negotium; quod si sciam cuius modi sit, sciam quid agendum mihi sit. Me etiam nunc istorum beneficiorum et litterarum expecta- 30 tio, ut tibi placet, Thessalonicae tenet. Si quid erit novi allatum, sciam, de reliquo quid agendum sit. Tu si, ut

scribis, Kal. Iuniis Roma profectus es, prope diem nos videbis. Litteras, quas ad Pompeium scripsi, tibi misi. Data Id. Iun. Thessalonicae.

XXIII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (THESSALONICA, JULY 17, 58)

Tu quidem sedulo argumentaris, quid sit sperandum et
5 maxime per senatum, idemque caput rogationis proponi scribis, quare in senatu dici nihil liceat. Itaque siletur. Hic tu me accusas, quod me adflitem, cum ita sim adflitus ut nemo umquam, quod tute intellegis. Spem ostendis secundum comitia. Quae ista est eodem tribuno
10 pl. et inimico consule designato? (2) Percussisti autem me etiam de oratione prolata. Cui vulneri, ut scribis, medere, si quid potes. Scripsi equidem olim ei iratus, quod ille prior scripserat, sed ita compresseram, ut numquam emanaturam putarem. Quo modo exciderit, nescio.
15 Sed quia numquam accidit, ut cum eo uno verbo concertarem, et quia scripta mihi videtur neglegentius quam ceterae, puto posse probari non esse meam. Id, si putas me posse sanari, cures velim; sin plane perii, minus laboro.

(3) Ego etiam nunc eodem in loco iaceo sine sermone
20 ullo, sine cogitatione ulla. Scilicet tibi, ut scribis, significaram, ut ad me venires; sed opera tua mihi intellego te istic prodesse, hic ne verbo quidem levare me posse. Non queo plura scribere, nec est, quod scribam; vestra magis exspecto. Data XVI Kal. Sextiles Thessalonicae.

XXIV. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (THESSALONICA, AUGUST 5, 58)

25 Quod ad te scripseram me in Epiro futurum, posteaquam extenuari spem nostram et evanescere vidi, mutavi con-

silium nec me Thessalonica commovi, ubi esse statueram, quoad aliquid ad me de eo scriberes, quod proximis litteris scripseras, fore uti secundum comitia aliquid de nobis in senatu ageretur; id tibi Pompeium dixisse. Qua de re, quoniam comitia habita sunt, tuque nihil ad me scribis, 5 proinde habeo, ac si scripsisses nihil esse, meque temporis non longinqui spe ductum esse non moleste feram. Quem autem motum te videre scripseras, qui nobis utilis fore videretur, eum nuntiant, qui veniunt, nullum fore. In tribunis pl. designatis reliqua spes est. Quam si exspec- 10 taro, non erit, quod putes me causae meae, voluntati meorum defuisse.

(2) Quod me saepe accusas, cur hunc meum casum tam graviter feram, debes ignoscere, cum ita me afflictum videas, ut neminem umquam nec videris nec audieris. 15 Nam quod scribis te audire me etiam mentis errore ex dolore adfeci, mihi vero mens integra est. Atque utinam tam in periculo fuisset! cum ego iis, quibus meam salutem carissimam esse arbitrabar, inimicissimis crudelissimisque usus sum; qui, ut me paulum inclinari timore viderunt, 20 sic impulerunt, ut omni suo scelere et perfidia abuterentur ad exitium meum. Nunc, quoniam est Cyzicum nobis eundum, quo rarius ad me litterae perferentur, hoc velim diligentius omnia, quae putaris me scire opus esse, per-scribas. Quintum fratrem meum fac diligas; quem ego 25 miser si incolumem relinquo, non me totum perisse arbitror. Data Nonis Sextilibus.

XXV. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (THESSALONICA, SEPTEMBER 16, 58)

Quoad eius modi mihi litterae a vobis adferebantur, ut aliquid ex iis esset expectandum, spe et cupiditate Thes-

salonicae retentus sum ; posteaquam omnis actio huius anni confecta nobis videbatur, in Asiam ire nolui, quod et celebritas mihi odio est et, si fieret aliquid a novis magistratibus, abesse longe nolebam. Itaque in Epirum ad te
5 statui me conferre, non quo mea interesset loci natura, qui lucem omnino fugerem, sed et ad salutem libentissime ex tuo portu proficiscar et, si ea praecisa erit, nusquam facilius hanc miserrimam vitam vel sustentabo vel, quod multo est melius, abiecero. (2) Ero cum paucis, mul-
10 titudinem dimittam. Me tuae litterae numquam in tantam spem adduxerunt quantam aliorum ; ac tamen mea spes etiam tenuior semper fuit quam tuae litterae. Sed tamen, quoniam coeptum est agi, quoquo modo coeptum est et quacumque de causa, non deseram neque optimi
15 atque unici fratris miseras ac luctuosas preces nec Sesti ceterorumque promissa nec spem aerumnosissimae mulieris Terentiae nec miserrimae Tulliolae obsecrationem et fideles litteras tuas. Mihi Epirus aut iter ad salutem dabit, aut quod scripsi supra.

20 (3) Te oro et obsecro, T. Pomponi, si me omnibus amplissimis, carissimis iucundissimisque rebus perfidia hominum spoliatum, si me a meis consiliariis proditum et proiectum vides, si intellegis me coactum, ut ipse me et meos perderem, ut me tua misericordia iuves et Quintum
25 fratrem, qui potest esse salvus, sustentens, Terentiam liberosque meos tueare, me, si putas te istic visurum, expectes, si minus, invisas, si potes, mihique ex agro tuo tantum adsignes, quantum meo corpore occupari potest, et pueros ad me cum litteris quam primum et quam saepis-
30 sime mittas. Data XVI Kal. Octobres.

XXVI. TULLIUS S.D. TERENTIAE SUAE ET TULLIO-
LAE ET CICERONI SUIS. (THESSALONICA, OCTOBER
5, 58)

Noli putare me ad quemquam longiores epistulas scribere nisi si quis ad me plura scripsit, cui puto rescribi oportere ; nec enim habeo quid scribam, nec hoc tempore quicquam difficilius facio ; ad te vero et ad nostram Tulliolam non queo sine plurimis lacrimis scribere ; vos enim video esse 5 miserrimas, quas ego beatissimas semper esse volui, idque praestare debui et, nisi tam timidi fuissemus, praestitissem. (2) Pisonem nostrum merito eius amo plurimum. Eum, ut potui, per litteras cohortatus sum gratiasque egi, ut debui. In novis tr. pl. intellego spem te habere. Id 10 erit firmum, si Pompei voluntas erit ; sed Crassum tamen metuo. A te quidem omnia fieri fortissime et amantissime video nec miror, sed maereo casum eius modi, ut tantis tuis miseriis meae miseriae subleventur. Nam ad me P. Valerius, homo officiosus, scripsit, id quod ego maximo 15 cum fletu legi, quem ad modum a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam ducta esses. Hem, mea lux, meum desiderium, unde omnes opem petere solebant ! Te nunc, mea Terentia, sic vexari, sic iacere in lacrimis et sordibus, idque fieri mea culpa, qui ceteros servavi, ut nos periremus ! 20

(3) Quod de domo scribis, hoc est de area, ego vero tum denique mihi videbor restitutus, si illa erit nobis restituta. Verum haec non sunt in nostra manu ; illud doleo, quae impensa faciendast, in eius partem te miseram et despoliatam venire. Quodsi conficitur negotium, omnia conse- 25 quemur ; sin eadem nos fortuna premet, etiamne reliquias tuas misera proicies ? Obsecro te, mea vita, quod ad sumptum attinet, sine alios, qui possunt, si modo volunt,

sustinere et valetudinem istam infirmam, si me amas, noli vexare. Nam mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versaris; omnis labores te excipere video; timeo, ut sustineas. Sed video in te esse omnia. Quare, ut id quod
 5 speras et quod agis, consequamur, servi valetudini. (4) Ego ad quos scribam nescio, nisi ad eos, qui ad me scribunt, aut ad eos, de quibus ad me vos aliquid scribitis. Longius, quoniam ita vobis placet, non discedam; sed velim saepissime litteras mittatis, praesertim si quid est firminus,
 10 quod speremus. Valete, mea desideria, valete. D. a. d. III Non. Oct. Thessalonica.

XXVII. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE, TULLIOLAE SUAE, CICERONI SUO S.D. (DYRRHACHIUM, NOVEMBER 26, 58)

Et litteris multorum et sermone omnium perfertur ad me incredibilem tuam virtutem et fortitudinem esse teque nec animi neque corporis laboribus defatigari.
 15 Me miserum! Te ista virtute, fide, probitate, humanitate in tantas aerumnas propter me incidisse, Tulliolamque nostram, ex quo patre tantas voluptates capiebat, ex eo tantos percipere luctus! Nam quid ego de Cicerone dicam? qui cum primum sapere coepit, acerbissimos
 20 dolores miserasque percepit. Quae si, tu ut scribis, 'fato facta' putarem, ferrem paulo facilius; sed omnia sunt mea culpa commissa, qui ab iis me amari putabam, qui invadebant, eos non sequebar, qui petebant. (2) Quodsi nostris consiliis usi essemus, neque apud nos tantum valuisset
 25 sermo aut stultorum amicorum aut improborum, beatissimi viveremus. Nunc quoniam sperare nos amici iubent, dabo operam, ne mea valetudo tuo labori desit. Res

quanta sit intellego, quantoque fuerit facilius manere domi quam redire ; sed tamen, si omnes tr. pl. habemus, si Lentulum tam studiosum, quam videtur, si vero etiam Pompeium et Caesarem, non est desperandum.

(3) De familia quo modo placuisse scribis amicis faci-⁵emus. De loco nunc quidem iam abiit pestilentia, sed quam diu fuit me non attigit. Plancius, homo officiosissimus, me cupit esse secum et adhuc retinet. Ego volebam loco magis deserto esse in Epiro, quo neque Piso veniret nec milites, sed adhuc Plancius me retinet ; sperat¹⁰ posse fieri ut mecum in Italiam decedat. Quem ego diem si videro et si in vestrum complexum venero ac si et vos et me ipsum recuperaro, satis magnum mihi fructum videbor percepisse et vestrae pietatis et meae.

(4) Pisonis humanitas, virtus, amor in omnis nos tantus¹⁵ est, ut nihil supra esse possit. Utinam ea res ei voluptati sit ! Gloriae quidem video fore. De Quinto fratre nihil ego te accusavi, sed vos, cum praesertim tam pauci sitis, volui esse quam coniunctissimos. (5) Quibus me voluisti agere gratias, egi et me a te certiore factum esse²⁰ scripsi.

Quod ad me, mea Terentia, scribis te vicum vendituram, quid, obsecro te, me miserum ! quid futurum est ? et si nos premet eadem fortuna, quid puero misero fiet ? Non queo reliqua scribere ; tanta vis lacrimarum est ; neque te²⁵ in eundem fletum adducam ; tantum scribo : si erunt in officio amici, pecunia non derit ; si non erunt, tu efficere tua pecunia non poteris. Per fortunas miseras nostras vide, ne puerum perditum perdamus ; cui si aliquid erit, ne egeat, mediocri virtute opus est et mediocri fortuna, ut³⁰ cetera consequatur. (6) Fac valeas et ad me tabellarios mittas, ut sciam quid agatur et vos quid agatis. Mihi

omnino iam brevis expectatio est. Tulliolae et Ciceroni salutem dic. Valete. D. a. d. VI K. Decembr. Dyrrhachi.

(7) Dyrrhachium veni, quod et libera civitas est et in me officiosa et proxima Italiae; sed si offendet me loci
5 celebritas, alio me conferam, ad te scribam.

XXVIII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (THESSALONICA AND
DYRRHACHIUM, NOVEMBER 26, 58)

Etsi diligenter ad me Quintus frater et Piso, quae essent acta, scripserant, tamen vellem tua te occupatio non impedisset, quo minus, ut consuesti, ad me, quid ageretur, et quid intellegeres, perscriberes. Me adhuc Plancius libe-
10 ralitate sua retinet iam aliquotiens conatum ire in Epirum Spes homini est iniecta, non eadem quae mihi, posse nos una decedere; quam rem sibi magno honori sperat fore. Sed iam, cum adventare milites dicentur, faciendum nobis erit, ut ab eo discedamus. Quod cum faciemus, ad te
15 statim mittemus, ut scias ubi simus. (2) Lentulus suo in nos officio, quod et re et promissis et litteris declarat, spem nobis non nullam adfert Pompei voluntatis; saepe enim tu ad me scripsisti eum totum esse in illius potestate. De Metello scripsit ad me frater quantum speraret pro-
20 fectum esse per te. (3) Mi Pomponi, pugna, ut tecum et cum meis mihi liceat vivere, et scribe ad me omnia. Premor luctu, desiderio cum omnium rerum tum meorum, qui mihi me cariores semper fuerunt. Cura ut valeas.

25 (4) Ego quod, per Thessaliam si irem in Epirum, per diu nihil eram auditurus, et quod mei studiosos habeo Dyrrhachinos, ad eos perrexi, cum illa superiora Thessalonicae scripsissem. Inde cum ad te me convertam, faciam, ut

scias, tuque ad me velim omnia quam diligentissime, cuicuiusmodi sunt, scribas. Ego iam aut rem aut ne spem quidem exspecto. Data VI Kal. Decembr. Dyrrachi.

XXIX. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (DYRRHACHIUM, BETWEEN
DECEMBER 10 AND 13, 58)

Post tuum a me discessum litterae mihi Roma allatae sunt, ex quibus perspicio nobis in hac calamitate tabes- 5
cendum esse. Neque enim — sed bonam in partem accipies — si ulla spes salutis nostrae subesset, tu pro tuo amore in me hoc tempore discessisses. Sed ne ingrati aut ne omnia velle nobiscum una interire videamur, hoc omitto; illud abs te peto, des operam, id quod mihi ad-10
firmasti, ut te ante Kalendas Ianuarias, ubicumque erimus, sistas.

XXX. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (DYRRHACHIUM, JANUARY,
57)

Litterae mihi a Quinto fratre cum senatus consulto, quod de me est factum, allatae sunt. Mihi in animo est legum lationem exspectare et, si obtrectabitur, utar auc-15
toritate senatus et potius vita quam patria carebo. Tu, quaeso, festina ad nos venire.

XXXI. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (DYRRHACHIUM, END OF
JANUARY, 57)

Ex tuis litteris et ex re ipsa nos funditus perisse video. Te oro, ut, quibus in rebus tui mei indigebunt, nostris miseriis ne desis. Ego te, ut scribis, cito videbo. 20

XXXII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ROME, MIDDLE OF SEPTEMBER, 57)

Cum primum Romam veni, fuitque, cui recte ad te litteras darem, nihil prius faciendum mihi putavi, quam ut tibi absenti de reditu nostro gratularer. Cognoram enim, ut vere scribam, te in consiliis mihi dandis nec fortio-
5 nec prudentiorem quam me ipsum nec etiam pro praeterita mea in te observantia nimium in custodia salutis meae diligentem, eundemque te, qui primis temporibus erroris nostri aut potius furoris particeps et falsi timoris socius fuisses, acerbissime discidium nostrum tulisse plurimumque
10 operae, studii, diligentiae, laboris ad conficiendum reditum meum contulisse. (2) Itaque hoc tibi vere adfirmo, in maxima laetitia et exoptissima gratulatione unum ad cumulandum gaudium conspectum aut potius complexum mihi tuum defuisse. Quem semel nactus si umquam di-
15 misero ac nisi etiam praetermissos fructus tuae suavitatis praeteriti temporis omnes exegero, profecto hac restitutione fortunae me ipse non satis dignum iudicabo.

(3) Nos adhuc, in nostro statu quod difficillime recuperari posse arbitrati sumus, splendorem nostrum illum forensem et in senatu auctoritatem et apud viros bonos gratiam, magis quam optamus consecuti sumus; in re autem familiari, quae quem ad modum fracta, dissipata, direpta sit, non ignoras, valde laboramus tuarumque non
20 tam facultatum, quas ego nostras esse iudico, quam consiliorum ad colligendas et constituendas reliquias nostras
25 indigemus.

(4) Nunc, etsi omnia aut scripta esse a tuis arbitror aut etiam nuntiis ac rumore perlata, tamen ea scribam brevi, quae te puto potissimum ex meis litteris velle cognoscere.

Pr. Nonas Sextiles Dyrrachio sum profectus ipso illo die, quo lex est lata de nobis. Brundisium veni Nonis Sextilibus. Ibi mihi Tulliola mea fuit praesto natali suo ipso die, qui casu idem natalis erat et Brundisinae coloniae et tuae vicinae Salutis; quae res animadversa a multitudine summa Brundisinorum gratulatione celebrata est. Ante diem VI Idus Sextiles cognovi, cum Brundisi essem, litteris Quinti mirifico studio omnium aetatum atque ordinum, incredibili concursu Italiae legem comitiis centuriatis esse perlatam. Inde a Brundisinis honestissimis decretis ornatus iter ita feci, ut undique ad me cum gratulatione legati convenerint. (5) Ad urbem ita veni, ut nemo ullius ordinis homo nomenclatori notus fuerit, qui mihi obviam non venerit, praeter eos inimicos, quibus id ipsum, se inimicos esse, non liceret aut dissimulare aut negare. Cum venissem ad portam Capenam, gradus templorum ab infimo plebe completi erant. A qua plausu maximo cum esset mihi gratulatio significata, similis et frequentia et plausus me usque ad Capitolium celebravit, in foroque et in ipso Capitolio miranda multitudo fuit.

(6) Postridie in senatu, qui fuit dies Nonarum Septembr., senatui gratias egimus. Eo biduo cum esset annonae summa caritas, et homines ad theatrum primo, deinde ad senatum concurrissent, impulsu Clodi mea opera frumenti inopiam esse clamarent, cum per eos dies senatus de annona haberetur, et ad eius procurationem sermone non solum plebis, verum etiam bonorum Pompeius vocaretur, idque ipse cuperet, multitudoque a me nominatim, ut id decernerem, postularet, feci et accurate sententiam dixi. Cum abessent consulares, quod tuto se negarent posse sententiam dicere, praeter Messallam et Afranium, factum est senatus consultum in meam sententiam, ut cum

Pompeio ageretur, ut eam rem susciperet, lexque ferretur. Quo senatus consulto recitato cum populus more hoc insulso et novo plausum meo nomine recitando dedisset, habui contionem. Omnes magistratus praesentes praeter
5 unum praetorem et duos tribunos pl. dederunt. (7) Postridie senatus frequens et omnes consulares nihil Pompeio postulanti negarunt. Ille legatos quindecim cum postulare, me principem nominavit et ad omnia me alterum se fore dixit. Legem consules conscripserunt, qua Pompeio per quinquennium omnis potestas rei frumentariae
10 toto orbe terrarum daretur, alteram Messius, qui omnis pecuniae dat potestatem et adiungit classem et exercitum et maius imperium in provinciis, quam sit eorum qui eas obtineant. Illa nostra lex consularis nunc modesta vi-
15 detur, haec Messi non ferenda. Pompeius illam velle se dicit, familiares hanc. Consulares duce Favonio fremunt; nos tacemus et eo magis, quod de domo nostra nihil adhuc pontifices responderunt. Qui si sustulerint religionem, aream praeclaram habebimus; superficiem
20 consules ex senatus consulto aestimabunt; sin aliter, demolientur, suo nomine locabunt, rem totam aestimabunt.
(8) Ita sunt res nostrae,

‘Ut in secundis fluxae, ut in adversis bonae.’

In re familiari valde sumus, ut scis, perturbati. Praeterea
25 sunt quaedam domestica, quae litteris non committo. Quintum fratrem insigni pietate, virtute, fide praeditum sic amo ut debeo. Te exspecto et oro, ut matures venire eoque animo venias, ut me tuo consilio egere non sinas. Alterius vitae quoddam initium ordimur. Iam quidam, qui
30 nos absentes defenderunt, incipiunt praesentibus occulte irasci, aperte invidere. Vehementer te requirimus.

XXXIII. MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

(ROME, FEBRUARY 12 AND 15, 56)

Scripsi ad te antea superiora ; nunc cognosce postea quae sint acta. A Kal. Febr. legationes in Idus Febr. reiciebantur. Eo die res confecta non est. A. d. IIII Non. Febr. Milo adfuit. Ei Pompeius advocatus venit ; dixit Marcellus a me rogatus ; honeste discessimus ; pro-5 dicta dies est in VIII Idus Febr. Interim reiectis legationibus in Idus referebatur de provinciis quaestorum et de ornandis praetoribus ; sed res multis querelis de re publica interponendis nulla transacta est. C. Cato legem promulgavit de imperio Lentulo abrogando. Vestitum 10 filius mutavit.

(2) A. d. VIII Id. Febr. Milo adfuit. Dixit Pompeius sive voluit ; nam ut surrexit, operae Clodianae clamorem sustulerunt, idque ei perpetua oratione contigit, non modo ut adclamatione, sed ut convicio et maledictis impediretur. 15 Qui ut peroravit — nam in eo sane fortis fuit ; non est deterritus ; dixit omnia atque interdum etiam silentio, cum auctoritate peregerat — sed ut peroravit, surrexit Clodius. Ei tantus clamor a nostris — placuerat enim referre gratiam — ut neque mente neque lingua neque ore 20 consisteret. Ea res acta est, cum hora sexta vix Pompeius perorasset usque ad horam VIII, cum omnia maledicta, versus denique obscenissimi in Clodium et Clodiam dicerentur. Ille furens et exsanguis interrogabat suos in clamore ipso, quis esset, qui plebem fame necaret. Re-25 spondebant operae : ‘Pompeius.’ Quis Alexandream ire cuperet. Respondebant : ‘Pompeius.’ Quem ire vel-
lent. Respondebant : ‘Crassum.’ Is aderat tum Miloni animo non amico. Hora fere nona quasi signo dato Clo-

diani nostros consputare coeperunt. Exarsit dolor. Urguere illi, ut loco nos moverent. Factus est a nostris impetus; fuga operarum; eiectus de rostris Clodius, ac nos quoque tum fugimus, ne quid in turba. Senatus vocatus in curiam. Pompeius domum. Neque ego tamen in senatum, ne aut de tantis rebus tacerem aut in Pompeio defendendo — nam is carpebatur a Bibulo, Curione, Favonio, Servilio filio — animos bonorum virorum offenderem. Res in posterum dilata est. Clodius in Quirinalia prodixit diem.

(3) A. d. VII Id. Febr. senatus ad Apollinis fuit, ut Pompeius adesset. Acta res est graviter a Pompeio. Eo die nihil perfectum est. A. d. VI Id. Febr. ad Apollinis senatus consultum factum est ea, quae facta essent a. d. VIII Id. Febr., contra rem publicam esse facta. Eo die Cato vehementer est in Pompeium invectus et eum oratione perpetua tamquam reum accusavit; de me multa me invito cum mea summa laude dixit; cum illius in me perfidiam increparet, auditus est magno silentio malevolorum. Respondit ei vehementer Pompeius Crassumque descripsit dixitque aperte se munitiorem ad custodiendam vitam suam fore, quam Africanus fuisset, quem C. Carbo interemisset. (4) Itaque magnae mihi res iam moveri videbantur. Nam Pompeius haec intellegit nobiscumque communicat, insidias vitae suae fieri, C. Catonem a Crasso sustentari, Clodio pecuniam suppeditari, utrumque et ab eo et a Curione, Bibulo ceterisque suis obtrectatoribus confirmari; vehementer esse providendum, ne opprimatur contionario illo populo a se prope alienato, nobilitate inimica, non aequo senatu, iuventute improba. Itaque se comparat, homines ex agris accersit, operas autem suas Clodius confirmat; manus ad Quirinalia paratur. In

eo multo sumus superiores ipsius copiis ; sed magna manus ex Piceno et Gallia exspectatur, ut etiam Catonis rogationibus de Milone et Lentulo resistamus.

(5) A. d. IIII Idus Febr. Sestius ab indice Cn. Nerio Pupinia de ambitu est postulatus et eodem die a quodam 5 M. Tullio de vi. Is erat aeger. Domum, ut debuimus, ad eum statim venimus eique nos totos tradidimus idque fecimus praeter hominum opinionem, qui nos ei iure sus-censere putabant, ut humanissimi gratissimique et ipsi et omnibus videremur, itaque faciemus. Sed idem Ne-10 rius index edidit ad allegatos Cn. Lentulum Vatiā et C. Cornelium Bestiam. Eodem die senatus consultum factum est, ut sodalitates decuriatique discederent, lexque de iis ferretur, ut, qui non discessissent, ea poena, quae est de vi, tenerentur. 15

(6) A. d. III Idus Febr. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium in foro medio maximo conventu incidique in eum locum in dicendo, cum Sestius multis in templo Castoris vulneribus acceptis subsidio Bestiae servatus esset. Hic προσφρονισμένην quiddam εὐκαίρως 20 de iis, quae in Sestium adparabantur crimina, et eum ornavi veris laudibus magno adsensu omnium. Res homini fuit vehementer grata. Quae tibi eo scribo, quod me de retinenda Sesti gratia litteris saepe monuisti.

(7) Pridie Idus Febr. haec scripsi ante lucem. Eo die 25 apud Pomponium in eius nuptiis eram cenaturus. Cetera sunt in rebus nostris huius modi, ut tu mihi fere diffidenti praedicabas, plena dignitatis et gratiae ; quae quidem tua, mi frater, prudentia, patientia, virtute, pietate, suavitate etiam tibi mihi sunt restituta. Domus tibi 30 ad lucum Pisonis Liciniana conducta est ; sed, ut spero, paucis mensibus post K. Quinctiles in tuam commigrabis

Tuam in Carinis mundi habitatores Lamiae conduxerunt. A te post illam Olbiensem epistulam nullas litteras accepi. Quid agas et ut te oblectes, scire cupio maximeque te ipsum videre quam primum. Cura, mi frater, ut valeas
 5 et quamquam est hiemps, tamen Sardiniam istam esse cogites. XV K. Martias.

XXXIV. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ANTIUM, APRIL OR MAY, 56)

Multa me in epistula tua delectarunt, sed nihil magis quam patina tyrotarichi. Nam de raudusculo quod scribis,

10 *‘μήπω μέγ’ εἴπῃς, πρὶν τελευτήσαντ’ ἔδῃς.’*

Aedificati tibi in agris nihil reperio. In oppido est quidam, de quo est dubium, sitne venale, ac proximum quidem nostris aedibus. Hoc scito, Antium Buthrotum esse Romae, ut Corcyrae illud tuum Antium. Nihil
 15 quietius, nihil alsius, nihil amoenius.

‘Εἴη μοι οὗτος φίλος οἶκος.’

(2) Postea vero quam Tyrannio mihi libros disposuit, mens addita videtur meis aedibus. Qua quidem in re mirifica opera Dionysi et Menophili tui fuit. Nihil venustius
 20 quam illa tua pegmata, postquam mi sillybis libros illustrarunt. Vale. Et scribas ad me velim de gladiatoribus, sed ita, bene si rem gerunt; non quaero, male si gessere.

XXXV. M. CICERO S.D. L. LUCCEIO Q. F. (ANTIUM, JUNE, 56)

Coram me tecum eadem haec agere saepe conantem deterruit pudor quidam paene subrusticus, quae nunc
 25 expromam absens audacius; epistula enim non erubescit.

Ardeo cupiditate incredibili neque, ut ego arbitror, reprehendenda, nomen ut nostrum scriptis inlustretur et celebretur tuis. Quod etsi mihi saepe ostendisti te esse facturum, tamen ignoscas velim huic festinationi meae. Genus enim scriptorum tuorum etsi erat semper a me 5 vehementer expectatum, tamen vicit opinionem meam meque ita vel cepit vel incendit, ut cuperem quam celerime res nostras monumentis commendari tuis. Neque enim me solum commemoratio posteritatis ad spem quandam immortalitatis rapit, sed etiam illa cupiditas, ut vel 10 auctoritate testimonii tui vel indicio benevolentiae vel suavitate ingenii vivi perfruamur.

(2) Neque tamen, haec cum scribebam, eram nescius, quantis oneribus premerere susceptarum rerum et iam institutarum; sed, quia videbam Italici belli et civilis his- 15 toriam iam a te paene esse perfectam, dixeras autem mihi te reliquas res ordiri, desse mihi nolui, quin te admonerem, ut cogitares, coniunctene malles cum reliquis rebus nostra contexere an, ut multi Graeci fecerunt, Callisthenes Phocicum bellum, Timaeus Pyrrhi, Polybius Numan- 20 tinum, qui omnes a perpetuis suis historiis ea, quae dixi, bella separaverunt, tu quoque item civilem coniurationem ab hostilibus externisque bellis seiungeres. Equidem ad nostram laudem non multum video interesse, sed ad properationem meam quiddam interest non te exspectare, 25 dum ad locum venias, ac statim causam illam totam et tempus arripere; et simul, si uno in argumento unaque in persona mens tua tota versabitur, cerno iam animo, quanto omnia uberiora atque ornatiora futura sint. Neque tamen ignoro, quam impudenter faciam, qui primum tibi 30 tantum oneris imponam — potest enim mihi denegare occupatio tua —, deinde etiam, ut ornes me, postulem.

(3) Quid si illa tibi non tanto opere videntur ornanda? Sed tamen, qui semel verecundiae finis transierit, eum bene et naviter oportet esse impudentem. Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam,
5 quam fortasse sentis, et in eo leges historiae neglegas gratiamque illam, de qua suavissime quodam in prooemio scripsisti, a qua te flecti non magis potuisse demonstras quam Herculem Xenophontium illum a Voluptatē, eam, si me tibi vementius commendabit, ne aspernere amorique
10 nostro plusculum etiam, quam concedet veritas, largiare.

(4) Quodsi te adducemus, ut hoc suscipias, erit, ut mihi persuadeo, materies digna facultate et copia tua. A principio enim coniurationis usque ad reditum nostrum videtur mihi modicum quoddam corpus confici posse, in quo et
15 illa poteris uti civilium commutationum scientia vel in explicandis causis rerum novarum vel in remediis incommodorum, cum et reprehendes ea, quae vituperanda duces, et, quae placebunt, exponendis rationibus comprobabis et, si liberius, ut consuesti, agendum putabis,
20 multorum in nos perfidiam, insidias, proditorem notabis. Multam enim casus nostri varietatem tibi in scribendo suppeditabunt plenam cuiusdam voluptatis, quae vementer animos hominum in legendo te scriptore tenere possit. Nihil est enim aptius ad delectationem lectoris quam tem-
25 porum varietates fortunaeque vicissitudines. Quae etsi nobis optabiles in experiendo non fuerunt, in legendo tamen erunt iucundae; habet enim praeteriti doloris secura recordatio delectationem; ceteris vero nulla perfunctis propria molestia, casus autem alienos sine ullo
30 dolore intuentibus etiam ipsa misericordia est iucunda.

(5) Quem enim nostrum ille moriens apud Mantineam Epaminondas non cum quadam miseratione delectat? qui

tum denique sibi evelli iubet spiculum, posteaquam ei percontanti dictum est clipeum esse salvum, ut etiam in vulneris dolore aequo animo cum laude moreretur. Cuius studium in legendo non erectum Themistocli fuga redituque retinetur? Etenim ordo ipse annalium medio-5 criter nos retinet quasi enumeratione fastorum; at viri saepe excellentis ancipites variique casus habent admirationem, expectationem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timorem; si vero exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus iucundissima lectionis voluptate. 10

(6) Quo mihi acciderit optatius, si in hac sententia fueris, ut a continentibus tuis scriptis, in quibus perpetuam rerum gestarum historiam complecteris, secernas hanc quasi fabulam rerum eventorumque nostrorum. Habet enim varios actus mutationesque et consiliorum et tem-15 porum. Ac non vereor, ne adsentati uncula quadam aucupari tuam gratiam videar, cum hoc demonstrum, me a te potissimum ornari celebrarique velle. Neque tu is es, qui, quid sis, nescias, et qui non eos magis, qui te non admirentur, invidos quam eos, qui laudent, adsentatores 20 arbitrere; neque autem ego sum ita demens, ut me sempiternae gloriae per eum commendari velim, qui non ipse quoque in me commendando propriam ingenii gloriam consequatur. (7) Neque enim Alexander ille gratiae causa ab Apelle potissimum pingi et a Lysippo fingi volebat, 25 sed quod illorum artem cum ipsis tum etiam sibi gloriae fore putabat. Atque illi artifices corporis simulacra ignotis nota faciebant; quae vel si nulla sint, nihilo sint tamen obscuriores clari viri. Nec minus est Spartiates Agesilaus ille perhibendus, qui neque pictam neque fictam imaginem 30 suam passus est esse, quam qui in eo genere laborarunt; unus enim Xenophontis libellus in eo rege laudando facile

omnis imagines omnium statuasque superavit. Atque hoc praestantius mihi fuerit et ad laetitiam animi et ad memoriae dignitatem, si in tua scripta pervenero quam si in ceterorum, quod non ingenium mihi solum supped-
5 ditatum fuerit tuum sicut Timoleonti a Timaeo aut ab Herodoto Themistocli, sed etiam auctoritas clarissimi et spectatissimi viri et in rei p. maximis gravissimisque causis cogniti atque in primis probati, ut mihi non solum praeconium, quod, cum in Sigeum venisset, Alexander ab
10 Homero Achilli tributum esse dixit, sed etiam grave testimonium impertitum clari hominis magnique videatur. Placet enim Hector ille mihi Naevianus, qui non tantum 'laudari' se laetatur, sed addit etiam 'a laudato viro.'

(8) Quod si a te non impetro, hoc est, si quae te res imp-
15 pedierit, — neque enim fas esse arbitror quicquam me rogantem abs te non impetrare — cogar fortasse facere, quod non nulli saepe reprehendunt, scribam ipse de me, multorum tamen exemplo et clarorum virorum. Sed, quod te non fugit, haec sunt in hoc genere vitia: et verecundius
20 ipsi de sese scribant necesse est, si quid est laudandum, et praetereant, si quid reprehendendum est. Accedit etiam, ut minor sit fides, minor auctoritas, multi denique reprehendant et dicant verecundiores esse praecones ludorum gymn-
corum, qui cum ceteris coronas imposuerint victo-
25 toribus eorumque nomina magna voce pronuntiarint, cum ipsi ante ludorum missionem corona donentur, alium praeconem adhibeant, ne sua voce se ipsi victores esse praedicent. Haec nos vitare cupimus et, si recipis causam nostram, vitabimus, idque ut facias, rogamus.

30 (9) Ac ne forte mirere, cur, cum mihi saepe ostenderis te accuratissime nostrorum temporum consilia atque eventus litteris mandaturum, a te id nunc tanto opere et tam

multis verbis petamus, illa nos cupiditas incendit, de qua initio scripsi, festinationis, quod alacres animo sumus, ut et ceteri viventibus nobis ex libris tuis nos cognoscant et nosmet ipsi vivi gloriola nostra perfruamur. (10) His de rebus quid acturus sis, si tibi non est molestum, rescribas 5 mihi velim. Si enim suscipis causam, conficiam commentarios rerum omnium, sin autem differs me in tempus aliud coram tecum loquar. Tu interea non cessabis et ea, quae habes instituta, perpolies nosque diliges.

XXXVI. M. CICERO S.D.P. LENTULO PROCOS. (ROME,
END OF JULY, 56)

Legi tuas litteras, quibus ad me scribis gratum tibi esse, 10 quod crebro certior per me fias de omnibus rebus et meam erga te benevolentiam facile perspicias; quorum alterum mihi, ut te plurimum diligam, facere necesse est, si volo is esse, quem tu me esse voluisti; alterum facio libenter, ut, quoniam intervallo locorum et temporum 15 diiuncti sumus, per litteras tecum quam saepissime colloquar. Quod si rarius fiet quam tu exspectabis, id erit causae, quod non eius generis meae litterae sunt, ut eas audeam temere committere; quotiens mihi certorum hominum potestas erit, quibus recte dem, non praeter-20 mittam.

(2) Quod scire vis, qua quisque in te fide sit et voluntate, difficile est de singulis; unum illud audeo, quod antea tibi saepe significavi, nunc quoque re perspecta et cognita scribere, vehementer quosdam homines et eos maxime, 25 qui te et maxime debuerunt et plurimum iuvare poterunt, invidisse dignitati tuae, simillimamque in re dissimili tui temporis nunc et nostri quondam fuisse rationem, ut, quos tu rei publicae causa laeseras, palam te oppug-

narent, quorum auctoritatem, dignitatem voluntatemque defenderas, non tam memores essent virtutis tuae quam laudis inimici. Quo quidem tempore, ut perscripsi ad te antea, cognovi Hortensium percupidum tui, studiosum
5 Lucullum, ex magistratibus autem L. Racilium et fide et animo singulari; nam nostra propugnatio ac defensio dignitatis tuae propter magnitudinem beneficii tui fortasse plerisque officii maiorem auctoritatem habere videatur quam sententiae. (3) Praeterea quidem de
10 consularibus nemini possum aut studii erga te aut officii aut amici animi esse testis; etenim Pompeium, qui mecum saepissime non solum a me provocatus, sed etiam sua sponte de te communicare solet, scis temporibus illis non saepe in senatu fuisse; cui quidem litterae tuae, quas proxime
15 miseras, quod facile intellexerim, periucundae fuerunt. Mihi quidem humanitas tua vel summa potius sapientia non iucunda solum sed etiam admirabilis visa est; virum enim excellentem et tibi tua praestanti in eum liberalitate devinctum non nihil suspicantem propter aliquorum
20 opinionem suae cupiditatis te ab se abalienatum illa epistula retinuisti; qui mihi cum semper tuae laudi favere visus est, etiam ipso suspiciosissimo tempore Caniniano, tum vero lectis tuis litteris perspectus est a me toto animo de te ac de tuis ornamentis et commodis cogitare. (4) Quare
25 ea, quae scribam, sic habeto, me cum illo re saepe communicata de illius ad te sententia atque auctoritate scribere: quoniam senatus consultum nullum exstat, quo reductio regis Alexandrini tibi adempta sit, eaque, quae de ea perscripta est auctoritas, cui scis intercessum esse, ut ne
30 quis omnino regem reduceret, tantam vim habet, ut magis iratorum hominum studium quam constantis senatus consilium esse videatur, te perspicere posse, qui Ciliciam

Cyprumque teneas, quid efficere et quid consequi possis, et, si res facultatem habitura videatur, ut Alexandream atque Aegyptum tenere possis, esse et tuae et nostri imperii dignitatis Ptolomaide aut aliquo propinquo loco rege conlocato te cum classe atque exercitu proficisci 5 Alexandriam, ut, eam cum pace praesidiisque firmaris, Ptolomaeus redeat in regnum; ita fore ut et per te restitatur, quem ad modum senatus initio censuit, et sine multitudine reducatur, quem ad modum homines religiosi Sibyllae placere dixerunt. (5) Sed haec sententia sic et 10 illi et nobis probatur, ut ex eventu homines de tuo consilio existimatuos videremus; si cecidisset, ut volumus et optamus, omnes te et sapienter et fortiter, si aliquid esset offensum, eosdem illos et cupide et temere fecisse dicturos. Quare, quid adsequi possis, non tam facile est nobis quam 15 tibi, cuius prope in conspectu Aegyptus est, iudicare; nos quidem hoc sentimus, si exploratum tibi sit posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum, si dubium sit, non esse conandum. Illud tibi adfirmo, si rem istam ex sententia gesseris, fore ut absens a multis, cum redieris ab omnibus 20 conlaudere; offensionem esse periculosam propter interpositam auctoritatem religionemque video. Sed ego te, ut ad certam laudem adhortor, sic a dimicatione deterreo redeoque ad illud, quod initio scripsi, totius facti tui iudicium non tam ex consilio tuo quam ex eventu homines 25 esse facturos. (6) Quodsi haec ratio rei gerendae periculosa tibi esse videbitur, placebat illud, ut, si rex amicis tuis, qui per provinciam atque imperium tuum pecunias ei credidissent, fidem suam praestitisset, et auxiliis eum tuis et copiis adiuvares; eam esse naturam et regionem pro-30 vinciae tuae, ut illius redditum vel adiuvando confirmares vel neglegendo impedires. In hac ratione quid res, quid

causa, quid tempus ferat, tu facillime optimeque perspicias ; quid nobis placuisset, ex me potissimum putavi te scire oportere.

(7) Quod mihi de nostro statu, de Milonis familiaritate, 5 de levitate et imbecillitate Clodi gratularis, minime miramur te tuis ut egregium artificem praeclaris operibus laetari ; quamquam est incredibilis hominum perversitas — graviore enim verbo uti non libet — qui nos, quos favendo in communi causa retinere potuerunt, invidendo 10 abalienarunt ; quorum malevolentissimis obtreptionibus nos scito de vetere illa nostra diuturnaue sententia prope iam esse depulsos, non nos quidem ut nostrae dignitatis simus obliti, sed ut habeamus rationem aliquando etiam salutis. Poterat utrumque praeclare, si esset fides, si 15 gravitas in hominibus consularibus ; sed tanta est in plerisque levitas, ut eos non tam constantia in re publica nostra delectet, quam splendor offendat. (8) Quod eo liberius ad te scribo, quia non solum temporibus his, quae per te sum adeptus, sed iam olim nascenti prope nostrae 20 laudi dignitatique favisti, simulque quod video non, ut antehac putabam, novitati esse invisum meae ; in te enim, homine omnium nobilissimo, similia invidorum vitia perspexi, quem tamen illi esse in principibus facile sunt passi, evolare altius certe noluerunt. Gaudeo tuam dissimilem 25 fuisse fortunam ; multum enim interest, utrum laus imminuatur, an salus deseratur ; me meae tamen ne nimis paeniteret, tua virtute perfectum est ; curasti enim, ut plus additum ad memoriam nominis nostri quam demptum de fortuna videretur. (9) Te vero et oro et moneo cum 30 beneficiis tuis tum amore incitatus meo, ut omnem gloriam, ad quam a pueritia inflammatus fuisti, omni cura atque industria consequare magnitudinemque animi tui,

quam ego semper sum admiratus semperque amavi, ne umquam inflectas cuiusquam iniuria. Magna est hominum opinio de te, magna commendatio liberalitatis, magna memoria consulatus tui. Haec profecto vides quanto expressiora quantoque inlustriora futura sint, cum aliquantum ex provincia atque ex imperio laudis accesserit; quamquam te ita gerere volo, quae per exercitum atque imperium gerenda sunt, ut haec multo ante meditere, huc te pares, haec cogites, ad haec te exerceas sentiasque — id quod quia semper sperasti, non dubito quin adeptus 10 intellegas — te facillime posse optinere summum atque altissimum gradum civitatis. Quae quidem mea cohortatio ne tibi inanis aut sine causa suscepta videatur, illa me ratio movit, ut ex nostris eventis communibus admonendum putarem, ut considerares, in omni reliqua vita 15 quibus crederes, quos caveres.

(10) Quod scribis te velle scire, qui sit rei publicae status, summa dissensio est, sed contentio dispar; nam, qui plus opibus, armis, potentia valent, perfecisse tamen mihi videntur stultitia et inconstantia adversariorum, ut etiam 20 auctoritate iam plus valerent. Itaque perpauca adversantibus omnia, quae ne per populum quidem sine seditione se adsequi arbitrabantur, per senatum consecuti sunt; nam et stipendium Caesari decretum est et decem legati, et, ne lege Sempronia succederetur, facile perfectum est. 25 Quod ego ad te brevius scribo, quia me status hic rei publicae non delectat; scribo tamen, ut te admoneam, quod ipse litteris omnibus a pueritia deditus experiendo tamen magis quam discendo cognovi, tu tuis rebus integris discas, neque salutis nostrae rationem habendam nobis 30 esse sine dignitate neque dignitatis sine salute.

(11) Quod mihi de filia et de Crassipede gratularis,

agnosco humanitatem tuam speroque et opto nobis hanc coniunctionem voluptati fore. Lentulum nostrum, eximia spe summae virtutis adolescentem, cum ceteris artibus, quibus studuisti semper ipse, tum in primis imitatione tui fac erudias; nulla enim erit hac praestantior disciplina. Quem nos, et quia tuus et quia te dignus est filius et quia nos diligit semperque dilexit, in primis amamus carumque habemus.

XXXVII. M. CICERO S.D. M. MARIO. (ROME, OCTOBER, 55)

Si te dolor aliqui corporis aut infirmitas valetudinis tuae tenuit, quo minus ad ludos venires, fortunae magis tribuo quam sapientiae tuae; sin haec, quae ceteri mirantur, contemnenda duxisti et, cum per valetudinem posses, venire tamen noluisti, utrumque laetor, et sine dolore corporis te fuisse et animo valuisse, cum ea, quae sine causa mirantur alii, neglexeris, modo ut tibi constiterit fructus otii tui; quo quidem tibi perfrui mirifice licuit, cum esses in ista amoenitate paene solus relictus. Neque tamen dubito, quin tu in illo cubiculo tuo, ex quo tibi Stabianum perforasti et patefecisti sinum, per eos dies matutina tempora lectiunculis consumpseris, cum illi interea, qui te istic reliquerunt, spectarent communis mimos semisomni. Reliquas vero partis diei tu consumebas iis delectationibus, quas tibi ipse ad arbitrium tuum compararas; nobis autem erant ea perpetienda, quae Sp. Maecius probavisset.

(2) Omnino, si quaeris, ludi apparatusissimi, sed non tui stomachi; coniecturam enim facio de meo. Nam primum honoris causa in scaenam redierant ii, quos ego honoris causa de scaena decessisse arbitrabar. Deliciae vero tuae, noster Aesopus, eius modi fuit, ut ei desinere per omnis

homines liceret. Is iurare cum coepisset, vox eum defecit in illo loco : 'Si sciens fallo.' Quid tibi ego alia narrem ? nosti enim reliquos ludos ; qui ne id quidem leporis habuerunt, quod solent mediocres ludi. Apparatus enim spectatio tollebat omnem hilaritatem, quo quidem apparatu non dubito quin animo aequissimo carueris. Quid enim delectationis habent sescenti muli in 'Clytaemestra' aut in 'Equo Troiano' creterrarum tria milia aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in aliqua pugna ? quae popularem admirationem habuerunt, delectationem tibi nullam attulissent. (3) Quodsi tu per eos dies operam dedisti Protogeni tuo, dum modo is tibi quidvis potius quam orationes meas legerit, ne tu haud paulo plus quam quisquam nostrum delectationis habuisti. Non enim te puto Graecos aut Oscos ludos desiderasse, praesertim cum Oscos vel in senatu vestro spectare possis, Graecos ita non ames, ut ne ad villam quidem tuam via Graeca ire soleas. Nam quid ego te athletas putem desiderare, qui gladiatores contempseris ? in quibus ipse Pompeius confitetur se et operam et oleum perdidisse. Reliquae sunt venationes binae per dies quinque, magnificae, nemo negat ; sed quae potest homini esse polito delectatio, cum aut homo imbecillus a valentissima bestia laniatur, aut praeclara bestia venabulo transverberatur ? Quae tamen, si videnda sunt, saepe vidisti ; neque nos, qui haec spectamus, quicquam novi vidimus. Extremus elephantorum dies fuit. In quo admiratio magna vulgi atque turbae, delectatio nulla exstitit ; quin etiam misericordia quaedam consecutast atque opinio eius modi, esse quandam illi beluae cum genere humano societatem.

30

(4) His ego tamen diebus ludis scaenicis, ne forte videar tibi non modo beatus, sed liber omnino fuisse, dirupi

me paene in iudicio Galli Canini, familiaris tui. Quodsi tam facilem populum haberem, quam Aesopus habuit, libenter mehercule artem desinerem tecumque et cum similibus nostri viverem. Nam me cum antea taedebat, cum et aetas et ambitio me hortabatur, et licebat denique, quem nolebam, non defendere, tum vero hoc tempore vita nullast. Neque enim fructum ullum laboris exspecto et cogor non numquam homines non optime de me meritos rogatu eorum, qui bene meriti sunt, defendere.

10 (5) Itaque quaero causas omnis aliquando vivendi arbitratu meo teque et istam rationem otii tui et laudo vehementer et probo, quodque nos minus intervisis, hoc fero animo aequiore, quod, si Romae esses, tamen neque nos lepore tuo neque te, si qui est in me, meo frui liceret propter

15 molestissimas occupationes meas. Quibus si me relaxaro, — nam, ut plane exsolvam, non postulo — te ipsum, qui multos annos nihil aliud commentaris, docebo profecto, quid sit humaniter vivere. Tu modo istam imbecillitatem valetudinis tuae sustenta et tuere, ut facis, ut nos-

20 tras villas obire et mecum simul lecticula concursare possis.

(6) Haec ad te pluribus verbis scripsi, quam soleo, non otii abundantia, sed amoris erga te, quod me quadam epistula subinvitaras, si memoria tenes, ut ad te aliquid

25 eius modi scriberem, quo minus te praetermisisses ludos paeniteret. Quod si adsecutus sum, gaudeo; sin minus, hoc me tamen consolor, quod posthac ad ludos venies nosque vises neque in epistulis relinques meis spem aliquam delectationis tuae.

XXXVIII. CICERO CAESARI IMP. S.D. (ROME, APRIL, 54)

Vide, quam mihi persuaserim te me esse alterum non modo in iis rebus, quae ad me ipsum, sed etiam in iis, quae ad meos pertinent. C. Trebatium cogitaram, quocumque exirem, mecum ducere, ut eum meis omnibus studiis, beneficiis quam ornatissimum domum reducerem; sed, postea-⁵ quam et Pompei commoratio diuturnior erat, quam putaram, et mea quaedam tibi non ignota dubitatio aut impedire profectionem meam videbatur aut certe tardare — vide quid mihi sumpserim — coepi velle ea Trebatium exspectare a te, quae sperasset a me, neque mehercule¹⁰ minus ei prolixè de tua voluntate promisi, quam eram solitus de mea polliceri. (2) Casus vero mirificus quidam intervenit quasi vel testis opinionis meae vel sponsor humanitatis tuae. Nam, cum de hoc ipso Trebatio cum Balbo nostro loquerer accuratius domi meae, litterae mihi¹⁵ dantur a te, quibus in extremis scriptum erat: 'M. Iteium, quem mihi commendas, vel regem Galliae faciam, vel hunc Leptae delega, si vis. Tu ad me alium mitte, quem ornem.' Sustulimus manus et ego et Balbus. Tanta fuit opportunitas, ut illud nescio quid non fortuitum,²⁰ sed divinum videretur. Mitto igitur ad te Trebatium atque ita mitto, ut initio mea sponte, post autem invitatu tuo mittendum duxerim. (3) Hunc, mi Caesar, sic velim omni tua comitate complectare, ut omnia, quae per me possis adduci ut in meos conferre velis, in unum hunc conferas.²⁵ De quo tibi homine haec spondeo non illo vetere verbo meo, quod cum ad te de Milone scripsissem, iure lusisti, sed more Romano, quo modo homines non inepti loquuntur, probiorem hominem, meliorem virum, pudentiorum esse neminem; accedit etiam, quod familiam ducit in³⁰

iure civili singulari memoria, summa scientia. Huic ego neque tribunatum neque praefecturam neque ullius beneficii certum nomen peto, neque impedio quominus, si tibi ita placuerit, etiam hisce eum ornes gloriolae insignibus; 5 totum denique hominem tibi ita trado, 'de manu,' ut aiunt, 'in manum' tuam istam et victoria et fide praestantem. Simus enim putidiusculi, quamquam per te vix licet; verum, ut video, licebit. Cura, ut valeas, et me, ut amas, ama.

XXXIX. CICERO S.D. TREBATIO. (CUMAE OR POMPEI, MAY, 54)

In omnibus meis epistolis, quas ad Caesarem aut ad 10 Balbum mitto, legitima quaedam est accessio commendationis tuae, nec ea vulgaris, sed cum aliquo insigni indicio meae erga te benevolentiae. Tu modo ineptias istas et desideria urbis et urbanitatis depone et, quo consilio profectus es, id assiduitate et virtute consequere. Hoc tibi 15 tam ignoscemus nos amici, quam ignoverunt Medae,

Quaé Corinthum arcem áltam habebant mátronae opulentae, óptimates,

quibus illa manibus gypsatisimis persuasit, ne sibi vitio illae verterent, quod abesset a patria; nam

Múlti suam rem béne gessere et públicam patriá procul 20 Múlti, qui domi aétatem agerent, própterea sunt ímprobati.

(2) Quo in numero tu certe fuisses, nisi te extrusissemus. Sed plura scribemus alias. Tu, qui ceteris cavere didicisti, in Britannia ne ab essedariis decipiaris, caveto et — quoniam Medeam coepi agere — illud semper memento:

25 Qui ípse sibi sapiéns prodesse nón quit, nequiquám sapit.

Cura ut valeas.

XL. CICERO TREBATIO. (ROME, END OF JUNE, 54)

Ego te commendare non desisto, sed, quid proficiam, ex te scire cupio. Spem maximam habeo in Balbo, ad quem de te diligentissime et saepissime scribo. Illud soleo mirari, non me totiens accipere tuas litteras quotiens a Quinto mihi fratre adferantur. In Britannia nihil esse⁵ audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si itast, essedum aliquod capias suadeo et ad nos quam primum recurras. (2) Sin autem sine Britannia tamen adsequi quod volumus possumus, perfice ut sis in familiaribus Caesaris. Multum te in eo frater adiuvabit meus, multum Balbus,¹⁰ sed, mihi crede, tuus pudor et labor plurimum. Nactus es imperatorem liberalissimum, aetatem opportunissimam, commendationem certe singularem, ut tibi unum timendum sit, ne ipse tibi defuisse videare.

XLI. CICERO TREBATIO S. (ROME, END OF OCTOBER, 54)

Ex tuis litteris et Quinto fratri gratias egi et te aliquando¹⁵ conlaudare possum, quod iam videris certa aliqua in sententia constitisse. Nam primorum mensium litteris tuis vehementer commovebar, quod mihi interdum — pace tua dixerim — levis in urbis urbanitatisque desiderio, interdum piger, interdum timidus in labore militari, saepe²⁰ autem etiam, quod a te alienissimumst, subimpudens videbare. Tamquam enim syngrapham ad imperatorem, non epistulam attulisses, sic pecunia ablata domum redire properabas, nec tibi in mentem veniebat eos ipsos, qui cum syngraphis venissent Alexandream, nummum adhuc²⁵ nullum auferre potuisse. (2) Ego si mei commodi rationem ducerem, te mecum esse maxime vellem; non

enim mediocri adficiebar vel voluptate ex consuetudine nostra vel utilitate ex consilio atque opera tua ; sed, cum te ex adulescentia tua in amicitiam et fidem meam contulisses, semper te non modo tuendum mihi, sed etiam augendum atque ornandum putavi. Itaque, quoad opinatus sum me in provinciam exiturum, quae ad te ultro detulerim, meminisse te credo. Posteaquam ea mutata ratio est, cum viderem me a Caesare honorificentissime tractari et unice diligere hominisque liberalitatem incredibilem et singularem
10 fidem nossem, sic ei te commendavi et tradidi, ut gravissime diligentissimeque potui. Quod ille ita et accepit et mihi saepe litteris significavit et tibi et verbis et re ostendit mea commendatione sese valde esse commotum. Hunc tu virum nactus, si me aut sapere aliquid aut velle
15 tua causa putas, ne dimiseris et, si quae te forte res aliquando offenderit, cum ille aut occupatione aut difficultate tardior erit visus, perferto et ultima expectato; quae ego tibi iucunda et honesta praestabo. (3) Pluribus te hortari non debeo ; tantum moneo, neque amicitiae
20 confirmandae clarissimi ac liberalissimi viri neque uberioris provinciae neque aetatis magis idoneum tempus, si hoc amiseris, te esse ullum umquam reperturum. 'Hoc,' quem ad modum vos scribere soletis in vestris libris, 'idem Q. Cornelio videbatur.' In Britanniam te profectum non
25 esse gaudeo, quod et labore caruisti, et ego te de rebus illis non audiam. Ubi sis hibernaturus, et qua spe aut conditione, perscribas ad me velim.

XLII. M. CICERO S.D. TREBATIO. (ROME, END OF NOVEMBER, 54)

In 'Equo Troiano' scis esse in extremo : 'sero sapiunt.' Tu tamen, mi vetule, non sero. Primas illas rabiosulas sat

fatuas dedisti; deinde quod in Britannia non nimis φιλοθέωρον te praeuisti, plane non reprehendo. Nunc vero in hibernis intectus mihi videris, itaque te commovere non curas.

‘Usquequaque sápere oportet; íd erit telum acérrimum.’ 5

(2) Ego si foris cenitarem, Cn. Octavio, familiari tuo, non defuissem; cui tamen dixi, cum me aliquotiens invitaret: ‘Oro te, quis tu es?’ Sed mehercules extra iocum homo bellus est; vellem eum tecum abduxisses.

(3) Quid agatis et ecquid in Italiam venturi sitis hac 10 hieme, fac plane sciam. Balbus mihi confirmavit te divitem futurum. Id utrum Romano more locutus sit, bene nummatum te futurum, an quo modo Stoici dicunt omnis esse divites, qui caelo et terra frui possint, postea videro. Qui istinc veniunt, superbiam tuam accusant, quod ne- 15 gent te percontantibus respondere. Sed tamen est quod gaudeas; constat enim inter omnis neminem te uno Samarobrivae iuris peritiorem esse.

XLIII. M. CICERO S.D. TREBATIO. (ROME, END OF DECEMBER, 54)

Legi tuas litteras, ex quibus intellexi te Caesari nostro valde iureconsultum videri. Est, quod gaudeas te in ista 20 loca venisse, ubi aliquid sapere viderere. Quodsi in Britanniam quoque profectus esses, profecto nemo in illa tanta insula peritior te fuisset. Verum tamen — rideamus licet; sum enim a te invitatus — subinvideo tibi ultro etiam accersitum ab eo, ad quem ceteri non propter superbiam eius, 25 sed propter occupationem adspirare non possunt. (2) Sed tu in ista epistula nihil mihi scripsisti de tuis rebus, quae mehercule mihi non minori curae sunt quam meae. Valde

metuo, ne frigeas in hibernis. Quam ob rem camino luculento utendum censeo — idem Mucio et Manilio placebat — praesertim qui sagis non abundares. Quamquam vos nunc istic satis calere audio ; quo quidem nuntio valde
 5 de te timueram. Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior quam in advocationibus, qui neque in Oceano natare volueris studiosissimus homo natandi neque spectare esse-darios, quem antea ne andabata quidem defraudare poteramus. Sed iam satis iocati sumus.

10 (3) Ego de te ad Caesarem quam diligenter scripserim, tute scis, quam saepe, ego ; sed mehercule iam intermisseram, ne viderer liberalissimi hominis meique amantissimi voluntati erga me diffidere. Sed tamen iis litteris, quas proxime dedi, putavi esse hominem commonendum. Id
 15 feci ; quid profecerim, facias me velim certiore et simul de toto statu tuo consilisque omnibus ; scire enim cupio, quid agas, quid exspectes, quam longum istum tuum discessum a nobis futurum putes. (4) Sic enim tibi persuadeas velim, unum mihi esse solacium, quare facilius
 20 possim pati te esse sine nobis, si tibi esse id emolumento sciam ; sin autem id non est, nihil duobus nobis est stultius, me, qui te non Romam attraham, te, qui non huc advoles. Una mehercule nostra vel severa vel iocosa congressio pluris erit quam non modo hostes, sed etiam fratres
 25 nostri Haedui. Quare omnibus de rebus fac ut quam primum sciam.

Aut cónsolando aut cónsilio aut re iúvero.

XLIV. CICERO TREBATIO. (TUSCULUM?, JANUARY, 53)

Nisi ante Roma profectus esses, nunc eam certe relinqueres ; quis enim tot interregnis iureconsultum desiderat ?

Ego omnibus, unde petitur, hoc consilii dederim, ut a singulis interregibus binas advocaciones postulent. Satisne tibi videor abs te ius civile didicisse? (2) Sed heus tu! quid agis? ecquid fit? video enim te iam iocari per litteras. Haec signa meliora sunt quam in meo Tusculano. 5 Sed, quid sit, scire cupio. Consuli quidem te a Caesare scribis; sed ego tibi ab illo consuli mallem. Quod si aut fit aut futurum putas, perfer istam militiam et permane; ego enim desiderium tui spe tuorum commodorum consolabor; sin autem ista sunt inaniora, recipe te ad nos. 10 Nam aut erit hic aliquid aliquando, aut, si minus, una mehercule conlocutio nostra pluris erit quam omnes Samarobrivae. Denique, si cito te rettuleris, sermo nullus erit; si diutius frustra afueris, non modo Laberium, sed etiam sodalem nostrum Valerium pertimesco; mira enim 15 persona induci potest Britannici iureconsulti. (3) Haec ego non rideo, quamvis tu rideas, sed de re severissima tecum, ut soleo, iocor. Remoto ioco tibi hoc amicissimo animo praecipio, ut, si istic mea commendatione tuam dignitatem obtinebis, perferas nostri desiderium, honestatem 20 et facultates tuas augeas, sin autem ista frigeant, recipias te ad nos. Omnia tamen, quae vis, et tua virtute profecto et nostro summo erga te studio consequere.

XLV. QUINTUS MARCO FRATRI S. (IN TRANSALPINE
GAUL, END OF MAY, 53)

De Tirone, mi Marce, ita te meumque Ciceronem et meam Tulliolam tuumque filium videam, ut mihi gra- 25 tissimum fecisti, cum eum indignum illa fortuna ac nobis amicum quam servum esse maluisti. Mihi crede, tuis et illius litteris perlectis exsilii gaudio et tibi et ago gratias et gratulor. Si enim mihi Stati fidelitas est tantae voluptati,

quanti esse in isto haec eadem bona debent additis litteris, sermonibus, humanitate, quae sunt his ipsis commodis potiora! Amo te omnibus equidem de maximis causis, verum etiam propter hanc, vel quod mihi sic, ut debuisti, 5 nuntiasti. Te totum in litteris vidi. Sabini pueris et promisi omnia et faciam.

XLVI. M. CICERO S.D. CURIONI. (ROME, 53)

Quamquam me nomine negligentiae suspectum tibi esse doleo, tamen non tam mihi molestum fuit accusari abs te officium meum quam iucundum requiri, praesertim, cum, 10 in quo accusabar, culpa vacarem, in quo autem desiderare te significabas meas litteras, prae te ferres perspectum mihi quidem, sed tamen dulcem et optatum amorem tuum. Equidem neminem praetermisi, quem quidem ad te perventurum putarem, cui litteras non dederim; etenim quis 15 est tam in scribendo impiger quam ego? a te vero bis terve summum et eas perbreves accepi. Quare, si iniquus es in me iudex, condemnabo eodem ego te crimine; sin me id facere noles, te mihi aequum praebere debebis.

Sed de litteris hactenus; non enim vereor, ne non 20 scribendo te expleam, praesertim si in eo genere studium meum non aspernabere. (2) Ego te afuisse tam diu a nobis et dolui, quod carui fructu iucundissimae consuetudinis, et laetor, quod absens omnia cum maxima dignitate es consecutus, quodque in omnibus tuis rebus meis 25 optatis fortuna respondit. Breve est, quod me tibi praecipere meus incredibilis in te amor cogit. Tanta est expectatio vel animi vel ingenii tui, ut ego te opsecrare optestarique non dubitem, sic ad nos conformatus revertare, ut, quam exspectationem tui concitasti, hanc sustinere et

tueri possis ; et, quoniam meam tuorum erga me meritorum memoriam nulla umquam delebit oblivio, te rogo, ut memineris, quantaecumque tibi accessiones fient et fortunae et dignitatis, eas te non potuisse consequi, nisi meis puer olim fidelissimis atque amantissimis consiliis 5 paruisses. Quare hoc animo in nos esse debebis, ut aetas nostra iam ingravescens in amore atque in adulescentia tua conquiescat.

XLVII. M. CICERO S.D. C. CURIONI. (ROME, 53)

Gravi teste privatus sum amoris summi erga te mei patre tuo, clarissimo viro. Qui cum suis laudibus tum vero 10 te filio superasset omnium fortunam, si ei contigisset, ut te ante videret, quam a vita discederet. Sed spero nostram amicitiam non egere testibus. Tibi patrimonium dei fortunent ; me certe habebis, cui et carus aequae sis et iucundus, ac fuisti patri.

15

XLVIII. CICERO S.D. C. CURIONI. (ROME, 53)

Epistularum genera multa esse non ignoras, sed unum illud certissimum, cuius causa inventa res ipsa est, ut certiores faceremus absentes, si quid esset, quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset. Huius generis litteras a me profecto non exspectas ; tuarum enim rerum domesti- 20 carum habes et scriptores et nuntios, in meis autem rebus nihil est sane novi. Reliqua sunt epistularum genera duo, quae me magnopere delectant, unum familiare et iocosum, alterum severum et grave. Utro me minus deceat uti, non intellego. Iocerne tecum per litteras ? 25 Civem mehercule non puto esse, qui temporibus his ridere possit. An gravius aliquid scribam ? Quid est quod pos-

sit graviter a Cicerone scribi ad Curionem nisi de re publica? Atqui in hoc genere mea causa est, ut neque ea quae sentio audeam, neque ea quae non sentio velim scribere.

(2) Quam ob rem, quoniam mihi nullum scribendi argumentum relictum est, utar ea clausula, qua soleo, teque ad studium summae laudis cohortabor. Est enim tibi gravis adversaria constituta et parata incredibilis quaedam expectatio; quam tu una re facillime vinces, si hoc statueris, quarum laudum gloriam adamaris, quibus artibus eae
10 laudes comparantur, in iis esse laborandum. In hanc sententiam scriberem plura, nisi te tua sponte satis incitatum esse confiderem; et hoc, quicquid attigi, non feci inflammandi tui causa, sed testificandi amoris mei.

XLIX. M. CICERO S.D. C. CURIONI. (ROME, 53)

Nondum erat auditum te ad Italiam adventare, cum
15 Sex. Villium, Milonis mei familiarem, cum his ad te litteris misi. Sed tamen, cum adpropinquare tuus adventus putaretur, et te iam ex Asia Romam versus profectum esse constaret, magnitudo rei fecit, ut non vereremur, ne nimis cito mitteremus, cum has quam primum ad te perferri lit-
20 teras magnopere vellemus. Ego, si mea in te essent officia solum, Curio, tanta, quanta magis a te ipso praedicari quam a me ponderari solent, verecundius a te, si quae magnae res mihi petenda esset, contenderem; grave est enim homini pudenti petere aliquid magnum ab eo, de quo se
25 bene meritum putet, ne id quod petat exigere magis quam rogare et in mercedis potius quam beneficii loco numerare videatur. (2) Sed, quia tua in me vel nota omnibus vel ipsa novitate meorum temporum clarissima et maxima beneficia exstiterunt, estque animi ingenui, cui multum

debeas, eidem plurimum velle debere, non dubitavi id a te per litteras petere, quod mihi omnium esset maximum maximeque necessarium. Neque enim sum veritus, ne sustinere tua in me vel innumerabilia non possem, cum praesertim confiderem nullam esse gratiam tantam, quam non 5 vel capere animus meus in accipiendo vel in remunerando cumulare atque inlustrare posset.

(3) Ego omnia mea studia, omnem operam, curam, industriam, cogitationem, mentem denique omnem, in Milonis consulatu fixi et locavi statuique in eo me non officii 10 solum fructum, sed etiam pietatis laudem debere quaerere; neque vero cuiquam salutem ac fortunas suas tantae curae fuisse umquam puto, quantae mihi sit honos eius, in quo omnia mea posita esse decrevi. Huic te unum tanto adiumento esse, si volueris, posse intellego, ut nihil sit prae- 15 terea nobis requirendum. Habemus haec omnia, bonorum studium conciliatum ex tribunatu propter nostram, ut spero te intellegere, causam, vulgi ac multitudinis propter magnificentiam munerum liberalitatemque naturae, iuventutis et gratiosorum in suffragiis studia propter ipsius ex- 20 cellentem in eo genere vel gratiam vel diligentiam, nostram suffragationem, si minus potentem, at probatam tamen et iustam et debitam et propterea fortasse etiam gratiosam.

(4) Dux nobis et auctor opus est et eorum ventorum, quos proposui, moderator quidam et quasi gubernator. Qui si 25 ex omnibus unus optandus esset, quem tecum conferre possemus, non haberemus. Quam ob rem, si me memorem, si gratum, si bonum virum vel ex hoc ipso, quod tam vehementer de Milone laborem, existimare potes, si dignum denique tuis beneficiis iudicas, hoc a te peto, ut subvenias 30 huic meae sollicitudini et huic meae laudi vel, ut verius dicam, prope saluti tuum studium dices. De ipso T.

Annio tantum tibi polliceor, te maioris animi, gravitatis, constantiae benivolentiaeque erga te, si complecti hominem volueris, habiturum esse neminem; mihi vero tantum decoris, tantum dignitatis adiunxeris, ut eundem te
5 facile adgnoscam fuisse in laude mea, qui fueris in salute.
(5) Ego ni te videre scirem, qua mente haec scriberem, quantum officii sustinerem, quanto opere mihi esset in hac petitione Milonis omni non modo contentione, sed etiam dimicatione elaborandum, plura scriberem; nunc
10 tibi omnem rem atque causam meque totum commendo atque trado. Unum hoc sic habeto, si a te hanc rem impetraro, me paene plus tibi quam ipsi Miloni debiturum; non enim mihi tam mea salus cara fuit, in qua praecipue sum ab illo adiutus, quam pietas erit in referenda gratia
15 iucunda; eam autem unius tuo studio me adsequi posse confido.

L. M. CICERO S.D. T. FADIO. (ROME, END OF MARCH, 52)

Etsi egomet, qui te consolari cupio, consolandus ipse sum, propterea quod nullam rem gravius iam diu tuli quam incommodum tuum, tamen te magno opere non hortor
20 solum, sed etiam pro amore nostro rogo atque oro, te colligas virumque praebeas et, qua condicione omnis homines et quibus temporibus nos nati simus, cogites. Plus tibi virtus tua dedit, quam fortuna abstulit, propterea quod adeptus es quod non multi homines novi, amisisti
25 quae plurimi homines nobilissimi. Ea denique videtur condicio impendere legum, iudiciorum, temporum, ut optime actum cum eo videatur esse, qui quam levissima poena ab hac re p. discesserit. (2) Tu vero, qui et for-

tunas et liberos habeas et nos ceterosque necessitudine et benevolentia tecum coniunctissimos, cumque magnam facultatem sis habiturus nobiscum et cum omnibus tuis vivendi, et cum unum sit iudicium ex tam multis, quod reprehendatur, ut quod una sententia eaque dubia potentiae 5 alicuius condonatum existimetur, omnibus his de causis debes istam molestiam quam lenissime ferre. Meus animus erit in te liberosque tuos semper, quem tu esse vis, et qui esse debet.

LI. M. CICERO PROCOS. S.D. APPIO PULCHRO IMP.
(ROME, MARCH OR APRIL, 51)

Cum et contra voluntatem meam et praeter opinionem 10 accidisset, ut mihi cum imperio in provinciam proficisci necesse esset, in multis et variis molestiis cogitationibusque meis haec una consolatio occurrebat, quod neque tibi amior, quam ego sum, quisquam posset succedere neque ego ab ullo provinciam accipere, qui mallet eam quam 15 maxime mihi aptam explicatamque tradere. Quodsi tu quoque eandem de mea voluntate erga te spem habes, ea te profecto numquam fallit. A te maximo opere pro nostra summa coniunctione tuaque singulari humanitate etiam atque etiam quaeso et peto, ut quibuscumque rebus 20 poteris — poteris autem plurimis — prospicias et consulas rationibus meis. (2) Vides ex senatus consulto provinciam esse habendam. Si eam, quod eius facere poteris, quam expeditissimam mihi tradideris, facilius erit mihi quasi decursus mei temporis. Quid in eo genere 25 efficere possis, tui consilii est; ego te, quod tibi veniet in mentem mea interesse, valde rogo. Pluribus verbis, ad te scriberem, si aut tua humanitas longiorem orationem ex-

spectaret, aut id fieri nostra amicitia pateretur, aut res verba desideraret ac non pro se ipsa loqueretur. Hoc velim tibi persuadeas, si rationibus meis provisum a te esse intellexero, magnam te ex eo et perpetuam voluptatem
5 esse capturum. Vale.

LII. CAELIUS CICERONI S. (ROME, ABOUT MAY 24, 51)

Quod tibi discedens pollicitus sum me omnes res urbanas diligentissime tibi perscripturum, data opera paravi, qui sic omnia persequeretur, ut verear, ne tibi nimium arguta haec sedulitas videatur ; tametsi tu scio quam sis curiosus,
10 et quam omnibus peregrinantibus gratum sit minimarum quoque rerum, quae domi gerantur, fieri certiores. Tamen in hoc te deprecor, ne meum hoc officium adrogantiae condemnes, quod hunc laborem alteri delegavi, non quin mihi suavissimum sit et occupato et ad litteras scribendas, ut
15 tu nosti, pigerrimo tuae memoriae dare operam, sed ipsum volumen, quod tibi misi, facile, ut ego arbitror, me excusat. Nescio quous otii esset non modo perscribere haec, sed omnino animadvertere ; omnia enim sunt ibi senatus consulta, edicta, fabulae, rumores. Quod exemplum si forte
20 minus te delectarit, ne molestiam tibi cum impensa mea exhibeam, fac me certiore. (2) Si quid in re p. maius actum erit, quod isti operarii minus commode persequi possint, et quem ad modum actum sit, et quae existimatio secuta quaeque de eo spes sit, diligenter tibi perscribemus.
25 Ut nunc est, nulla magnopere exspectatio est. Nam et illi rumores de comitiis Transpadanorum Cumarum tenus caluerunt, Romam cum venissem, ne tenuissimam quidem auditionem de ea re accepi ; praeterea Marcellus, quod adhuc nihil rettulit de successione provinciarum Galli-

arum et in K. Iun., ut mihi ipse dixit, eam distulit relationem, sane quam eos sermones expressit, qui de eo tum fuerant, cum Romae nos essemus. (3) Tu si Pompeium, ut volebas, offendisti, qui tibi visus sit et quam orationem habuerit tecum quamque ostenderit voluntatem — solet enim aliud sentire et loqui neque tantum valere ingenio, ut non appareat, quid cupiat — fac mihi perscribas. (4) Quod ad Caesarem, crebri et non belli de eo rumores, sed susurratores dumtaxat veniunt. Alius equitem perdidisse, quod, opinor, certe factum est, alius septimam legionem 10 vapulasse, ipsum ad Bellovacos circumsederi interclusum ab reliquo exercitu; neque adhuc certi quicquam est, neque haec incerta tamen vulgo iactantur, sed inter paucos, quos tu nosti, palam secreto narrantur; at Domitius, cum manus ad os apposuit. Te a. d. IX K. Iun. 15 subrostrani — quod illorum capiti sit! — dissiparant perisse. Urbe ac foro toto maximus rumor fuit te a Q. Pompeio in itinere occisum. Ego, qui scirem Q. Pompeium Baulis embaeneticam facere et usque eo, ut ego misererer eius, esurire, non sum commotus et hoc mendacio, si 20 qua pericula tibi impenderent, ut defungeremur, optavi. Plancus quidem tuus Ravennaest et magno congiario donatus a Caesare nec beatus nec bene instructus est. Tui politici libri omnibus vigent.

LIII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ACTIUM, JUNE 15, 51)

Actium venimus a. d. XVII Kal. Quinctiles, cum quidem 25 et Corcyrae et Sybotis muneribus tuis, quae et Araus et meus amicus Eutychides opipare et φιλοπροσγνέστατα nobis congesserant, epulati essemus Saliarem in modum. Actio maluimus iter facere pedibus, qui incommodissime navigassemus, et Leucatam flectere molestum videbatur, 30

actuariis autem minutis Patras accedere sine impedimentis non satis visum est decorum. Ego, ut saepe tu me currentem hortatus es, cotidie meditor, praecipio meis, faciam denique, ut summa modestia et summa abstinencia munus
5 hoc extraordinarium traducamus. Parthus velim quiescat et fortuna nos iuvet, nostra praestabimus.

(2) Tu, quaeso, quid agas, ubi quoque tempore futurus sis, quales res nostras Romae reliqueris, maxime de XX et DCCC cura ut sciamus. Id unis diligenter litteris datis,
10 quae ad me utique perferantur, consequere. Illud tamen, quoniam nunc abes, cum id non agitur, aderis autem ad tempus, ut mihi recepisti, memento curare per te et per omnes nostros, in primis per Hortensium, ut annus noster maneat suo statu, ne quid novi decernatur. Hoc tibi ita
15 mando, ut dubitem, an etiam te rogem, ut pugnes, ne intercaletur. Sed non audeo tibi omnia onera imponere; annum quidem utique teneto.

(3) Cicero meus, modestissimus et suavissimus puer, tibi salutem dicit. Dionysium semper equidem, ut scis,
20 dilexi, sed cotidie pluris facio, et mehercule in primis quod te amat nec tui mentionem intermitti sinit.

LIV. M. CICERO S.D. C. MEMMIO. (ATHENS, BETWEEN
JUNE 25 AND JULY 6, 51)

Etsi non satis mihi constiterat, cum aliquane animi mei molestia an potius lubenter te Athenis visurus essem, quod iniuria quam accepisti dolore me adficeret, sapientia tua,
25 qua fers iniuriam, laetitia, tamen vidisse te malletm; nam, quod est molestiae, non sane multo levius est, cum te non video, quod esse potuit voluptatis, certe, si vidissem te, plus fuisset. Itaque non dubitabo dare operam, ut te vi-

deam, cum id satis commode facere potuero ; interea, quod per litteras et agi tecum et, ut arbitror, confici potest, agam. (2) Nunc te illud primum rogabo, ne quid invitus mea causa facias, sed id, quod mea intelleges multum, tua nullam in partem interesse, ita mihi des, si tibi, ut id 5 lubenter facias, ante persuaseris.

Cum Patrone Epicurio mihi omnia sunt, nisi quod in philosophia vehementer ab eo dissentio. Sed et initio Romae, cum te quoque et tuos omnes observabat, me coluit in primis et nuper, cum ea, quae voluit de suis commodis 10 et praemiis, consecutus est, meme habuit suorum defensorum et amicorum fere principem et iam a Phaedro, qui nobis, cum pueri essemus, antequam Philonem cognovimus, valde ut philosophus, postea tamen ut vir bonus et suavis et officiosus probabatur, traditus mihi commendatusque 15 est. (3) Is igitur Patro cum ad me Romam litteras misisset, uti te sibi placarem peteremque, ut nescio quid illud Epicuri parietinarum sibi concederes, nihil scripsi ad te ob eam rem, quod aedificationis tuae consilium commendatione mea nolebam impedire ; idem, ut veni Athe- 20 nas, cum idem ut ad te scriberem, rogasset, ob eam causam impetravit, quod te abiecissem illam aedificationem constabat inter omnes amicos tuos. (4) Quod si ita est, et si iam tua plane nihil interest, velim, si qua offensiuncula facta est animi tui perversitate aliquorum — novi enim gentem 25 illam — des te ad lenitatem vel propter summam tuam humanitatem vel etiam honoris mei causa. Equidem si, quid ipse sentiam, quaeris, nec cur ille tantopere contendat, video, nec cur tu repugnes, nisi tamen multo minus tibi concedi potest quam illi laborare sine causa. 30 Quamquam Patronis et orationem et causam tibi cognitam esse certo scio ; honorem, officium, testamentorum ius,

Epicuri auctoritatem, Phaedri obtestationem, sedem, domicilium, vestigia summorum hominum sibi tuenda esse dicit. Totam hominis vitam rationemque, quam sequitur in philosophia, derideamus licet, si hanc eius contentionem
 5 volumus reprehendere; sed mehercules, quoniam illi ceterisque, quos illa delectant, non valde inimici sumus, nescio an ignoscendum sit huic, si tantopere laborat; in quo etiamsi peccat, magis ineptiis quam improbitate peccat. (5) Sed ne plura — dicendum enim aliquando est —
 10 Pomponium Atticum sic amo ut alterum fratrem. Nihil est illo mihi nec carius nec iucundius. Is — non quo sit ex istis; est enim omni liberali doctrina politissimus, sed valde diligit Patronem, valde Phaedrum amavit — sic a me hoc contendit, homo minime ambitiosus, minime in
 15 rogando molestus, ut nihil umquam magis, nec dubitat, quin ego a te nutu hoc consequi possim, etiamsi aedificaturus esses. Nunc vero si audierit te aedificationem deposuisse neque tamen me a te impetrasse, non te in me inliberalem, sed me in se negligentem putabit. Quam ob
 20 rem peto a te, ut scribas ad tuos posse tua voluntate decretum illud Areopagitarum, quem ὑπομνηματισμόν illi vocant, tolli. (6) Sed redeo ad prima. Prius velim tibi persuadeas, ut hoc mea causa libenter facias quam ut facias; sic tamen habeto, si feceris quod rogo, fore mihi
 25 gratissimum. Vale.

LV. CICERO S.D. APPIO PULCHRO. (TRALLIS, JULY 27, 51)

Trallis veni a. d. VI K. Sex. Ibi mihi praesto fuit L. Lucilius cum litteris mandatisque tuis; quo quidem hominem neminem potuisti nec mihi amiciores nec, ut arbitror, ad ea cognoscenda, quae scire volebam, aptiores pru-

dentio remve mittere. Ego autem et tuas litteras legi libenter et audiui Lucilium diligenter. Nunc, quoniam et tu ita sentis — scribis enim, quae de nostris officiis ego ad te scripserim, etsi tibi iucunda fuerint, tamen, quoniam ex alto repetita sint, non necessaria te putasse et re vera 5 confirmata amicitia et perspecta fide commemoratio officiorum supervacanea est, — eam partem orationis praetermittam, tibi tamen agam, ut debeo, gratias; animadverti enim et didici ex tuis litteris te omnibus in rebus habuisse rationem, ut mihi consuleres restitueresque et parares 10 quodam modo omnia, quo mea ratio facilior et solutior esse posset. (2) Hoc tuum officium cum mihi gratissimum esse dicam, sequitur illud, ut te existimare velim mihi magnae curae fore atque esse iam, primum ut ipse tu tuique omnes, deinde ut etiam reliqui scire possint me tibi esse 15 amicissimum. Quod quibus adhuc non satis est perspectum, ii mihi nolle magis nos hoc animo esse quam non intellegere videntur; sed profecto intellegent, neque enim obscuris personis nec parvis in causis res agetur. Sed haec fieri melius quam dici aut scribi volo. 20

(3) Quod itinerum meorum ratio te non nullam in dubitationem videtur adducere, visurusne me sis in provincia, ea res sic se habet: Brundisi cum loquerer cum Phania, liberto tuo, veni in eum sermonem, ut dicerem me libenter ad eam partem provinciae primum esse venturum, quo te 25 maxime velle arbitrarer. Tunc mihi ille dixit, quod classe tu velles decedere, per fore accommodatum tibi, si ad illam maritimam partem provinciae navibus accessissem. Dixi me esse facturum itaque fecissem, nisi mi L. Clodius noster Corcyrae dixisset minime id esse faciendum; te 30 Laudiceae fore ad meum adventum. Erat id mihi multo brevius multoque commodius, cum praesertim te ita malle

arbitrarer. (4) Tua ratio postea est commutata. Nunc quid fieri possit, tu facillime statues; ego tibi meum consilium exponam; Pr. K. Sextiles puto me Laodiceae fore. Perpaucos dies, dum pecunia accipitur, quae mihi
5 ex publica permutatione debetur, commorabor. Deinde iter faciam ad exercitum, ut circiter Id. Sex. putem me ad Iconium fore. Sed, si quid nunc me fallit in scribendo — procul enim aberam ab re ipsa et a locis — simul ac progredi coepero, quam celerrime potero, et quam creber-
10 rimis litteris faciam, ut tibi nota sit omnis ratio dierum atque itinerum meorum. Oneris tibi imponere nec audeo quicquam nec debeo; sed, quod commodo tuo fieri possit, utriusque nostrum magni interest, ut te videam ante quam decedas. Quam facultatem si quis casus eripuerit, mea
15 tamen in te omnia officia constabunt non secus ac si te vidissem; tibi de nostris rebus nihil sum ante mandaturus per litteras quam desperaro coram me tecum agere posse.

(5) Quod te a Scaevola petisse dicis, ut, dum tu abesses, ante adventum meum provinciae praesset, eum ego Ephesi
20 vidi, fuitque mecum familiariter triduum illud, quod ego Ephesi commoratus sum, nec ex eo quicquam audivi, quod sibi a te mandatum diceret. Ac sane vellem potuisset obsequi voluntati tuae; non enim arbitror noluisse.

LVI. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ON THE ROAD BETWEEN SYN-
NADA AND PHILOMELIUM, BETWEEN AUGUST 9 AND 11, 51)

Etsi in ipso itinere et via discedebant publicanorum
25 tabellarii, et eramus in cursu, tamen surripiendum aliquid putavi spatii, ne me immemorem mandati tui putares. Itaque subsedi in ipsa via, dum haec, quae longiorem desiderant orationem, summatim tibi perscriberem. (2) Maxima exspectatione in perditam et plane eversam in per-

petuum provinciam nos venisse scito pridie Kal. Sextiles, moratos triduum Laodiceae, triduum Apameae, totidem dies Synnade. Audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata ἐπικεφάλια solvere non posse, ὧνάς omnium venditas, civitatum gemitus, ploratus, monstra quaedam non hominis, 5 sed ferae nescio cuius immanis. Quid quaeris? taedet omnino eos vitae. (3) Levantur tamen miserae civitates, quod nullus fit sumptus in nos neque in legatos neque in quaestorem neque in quemquam. Scito non modo nos foenum, aut quod e lege Iulia dari solet, non accipere, sed 10 ne ligna quidem, nec praeter lectos et tectum quemquam accipere quicquam, multis locis ne tectum quidem, et in tabernaculo manere plerumque. Itaque incredibilem in modum concursus fiunt ex agris, ex vicis, ex domibus omnibus. Mehercule etiam adventu nostro reviviscunt. 15 Iustitia, abstinencia, clementia tui Ciceronis opiniones omnium superavit. (4) Appius, ut audivit nos venire, in ultimam provinciam se coniecit Tarsum usque. Ibi forum agit. De Partho silentium est, sed tamen concisos equites nostros a barbaris nuntiabant ii, qui veniebant. 20 Bibulus ne cogitabat quidem etiam nunc in provinciam suam accedere; id autem facere ob eam causam dicebant, quod tardius vellet decedere. Nos in castra properabamus, quae aberant tridui.

LVII. M. CICERO S.D. APPIO PULCHRO. (CILICIA,
ABOUT SEPTEMBER 1, 51)

Cum meum factum cum tuo comparo, etsi non magis 25 mihi faveo in nostra amicitia tuenda quam tibi, tamen multo magis meo facto delector quam tuo. Ego enim Brundisi quaesivi ex Phania, cuius mihi videbar et fidelitatem erga te perspexisse et nosse locum, quem apud te

teneret, quam in partem provinciae maxime putaret te velle ut in succedendo primum venirem. Cum ille mihi respondisset nihil me tibi gratius facere posse, quam si ad Sidam navigassem, etsi minus dignitatis habebat ille
5 adventus et ad multas res mihi minus erat aptus, tamen ita me dixi esse facturum. (2) Idem ego cum L. Clodium Corcyrae convenissem, hominem ita tibi coniunctum, ut mihi, cum illo cum loquerer, tecum loqui viderer, dixi ei me ita facturum esse, ut in eam partem, quam Phania
10 rogasset, primum venirem. Tunc ille, mihi cum gratias egisset, magnopere a me petivit, ut Laodiceam potius irem ; te in prima provincia velle esse, ut quam primum decederes ; quin, nisi ego successor essem, quem tu cuperes videre, te antea quam tibi successum esset, decessurum fuisse ;
15 quod quidem erat consentaneum cum iis litteris, quas ego Romae acceperam, ex quibus perspexisse mihi videbar, quam festinares decedere. Respondi Clodio me ita esse facturum, ac multo quidem libentius, quam si illud esset faciendum quod promiseram Phaniae. Itaque et con-
20 silium mutavi et ad te statim mea manu scriptas litteras misi ; quas quidem ex tuis litteris intellexi satis mature ad te esse perlatas.

(3) Hoc ego meo facto valde delector ; nihil enim potuit fieri amantius. Considera nunc vicissim tuum. Non
25 modo ibi non fuisti, ubi me quam primum videre posses, sed eo discessisti, quo ego te ne persequi quidem possem triginta diebus, qui tibi ad decedendum lege, ut opinor, Cornelia constituti essent, ut tuum factum, qui, quo animo inter nos simus, ignorent, alieni hominis, ut levissime
30 dicam, et fugientis congressum, meum vero coniunctissimi et amicissimi esse videatur. (4) Ac mihi tamen, ante quam in provinciam veni, redditae sunt a te litterae, quibus

etsi te Tarsum proficisci demonstrabas, tamen mihi non dubiam spem mei conveniendi adferebas, cum interea, credo equidem, malevoli homines — late enim patet hoc vitium et est in multis — sed tamen probabilem materiem nacti sermonis ignari meae constantiae conabantur alienare 5 a te voluntatem meam; qui te forum Tarsi agere, statuere multa, decernere, iudicare dicerent, cum posses iam suspicari tibi esse successum, quae ne ab iis quidem fieri solerent, qui brevi tempore sibi succedi putarent. (5) Horum ego sermone non movebar, quin etiam, credas mihi 10 velim, si quid tu ageres, levare me putabam molestia et ex annua provincia, quae mihi longa videretur, prope iam undecim mensium provinciam factam esse gaudebam, si apsemti mihi unius mensis labor detractus esset; illud, vere dicam, me movet, in tanta militum paucitate abesse 15 tris cohortes, quae sint plenissimae, nec me scire, ubi sint; molestissime autem fero, quod, te ubi visurus sim, nescio; eoque ad te tardius scripsi, quod cotidie te ipsum exspectabam, cum interea ne litteras quidem ullas accepi, quae me docerent, quid ageres, aut ubi te visurus essem. Itaque 20 virum fortem mihique in primis probatum, D. Antonium, praefectum evocatorum, nisi ad te, cui si tibi videretur, cohortes traderes, ut, dum tempus anni esset idoneum, aliquid negotii gerere possem; in quo, tuo consilio ut me sperarem esse usurum, et amicitia nostra et litterae tuae 25 fecerunt, quod ne nunc quidem despero. Sed plane, quando aut ubi te visurus sim, nisi ad me scripseris, ne suspicari quidem possum.

(6) Ego, ut me tibi amicissimum esse et aequi et iniqui intellegant, curabo; de tuo in me animo iniquis secus 30 existimandi videris non nihil loci dedisse. Id si correxeris, mihi valde gratum erit. Et ut habere rationem possis,

quo loco me salva lege Cornelia convenias, ego in provinciam veni pridie K. Sextiles, iter in Ciliciam facio per Cappadociam, castra movi ab Iconio pridie K. Septembres. Nunc tu et ex diebus et ex ratione itineris, si putabis me
 5 esse conveniendum, constitues, quo loco id commodissime fieri possit et quo die.

LVIII. M. CICERO PROCOS. S.D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR. DESIGNATO. (CILICIA, OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER, 51)

Primum tibi, ut debeo, gratulor laetorque cum praesentium etiam sperata tua dignitate, serius non neglegentia mea, sed ignoratione rerum omnium ; in iis enim sum locis,
 10 quo et propter longinquitatem et propter latrocinia tardissime omnia perferuntur. Et cum gratulor tum vero, quibus verbis tibi gratias agam, non reperio, quod ita factus sis, ut dederis nobis, quem ad modum scripseras ad me, quem semper ridere possemus. Itaque, cum primum
 15 audivi, ego ille ipse factus sum — scis quem dicam — egique omnes illos adulescentes, quos ille actitat. (2) Difficile est loqui ; te autem contemplans apsentem, et quasi tecum coram loquerer :

Non édepol, quantam rem égeris neque quántum facinus féceris ;
 20 quod quia praeter opinionem mihi acciderat, referebam ad illud :

Incredíbile hoc fáctu obicitur ;

repente vero 'incessi omnibus laetitiis laetus.' In quo cum obiurgarer, quod nimio gaudio paene desiperem, ita
 25 me defendebam :

Égo voluptatem ánimi nimiam —

Quid quaeris? dum illum rideo, paene sum factus ille.
(3) Sed haec pluribus multaue alia et de te et ad te, cum primum ero aliquid nactus otii. Te vero, mi Rufe, diligo, quem mihi fortuna dedit amplificatorem dignitatis meae, ultorem non modo inimicorum, sed etiam invidorum meorum, ut eos partim scelerum suorum, partim etiam ineptiarum paeniteret.

LIX. M. CICERO IMP. S.D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CURULI DESIGNATO. (IN CAMP IN CILICIA, NOVEMBER 16, 51)

Tu vide, quam ad me litterae non perferantur; non enim possum adduci, ut abs te, postquam aedilis es factus, nullas putem datas, praesertim cum esset tanta res tantae gratulationis, de te, quia, quod sperabam, de Hillo — balbus enim sum, — quod non putaram. Atqui sic habeto, nullam me epistulam accepisse tuam post comitia ista praeclara, quae me laetitia extulerunt; ex quo vereor, ne idem eveniat in meas litteras. Equidem numquam domum nisi unam epistulam, quin esset ad te altera, nec mihi est iucundius quicquam nec carius. Sed — balbi non sumus — ad rem redeamus.

(2) Ut optasti, ita est; velles enim, ais, tantum modo ut haberem negotii, quod esset ad laureolam satis, Parthos times, quia diffidis copiis nostris. Ergo ita accidit; nam Parthico bello nuntiato locorum quibusdam angustiis et natura montium fretus ad Amanum exercitum adduxi satis probe ornatum auxiliis et quadam auctoritate apud eos, qui me non norant, nominis nostri; multum est enim in his locis: 'Hicine est ille, qui urbem? quem senatus?' nosti cetera. Cum venissem ad Amanum, qui mons mihi cum Bibulo communis est divisus aquarum

divertiis, Cassius noster, quod mihi magnae voluptati fuit, feliciter ab Antiochea hostem reiecerat, Bibulus provinciam acceperat. Interea cum meis copiis omnibus vexavi Amaniensis, hostis sempiternos ; multi occisi, capti, reliqui
5 dissipati ; castella munita improvise adventu capta et incensa. Ita victoria iusta imperator appellatus apud Issum, quo in loco, saepe ut ex te audivi, Clitarchus tibi narravit Dareum ab Alexandro esse superatum, abduxi exercitum ad infestissimam Ciliciae partem. Ibi quintum
10 et vicesimum iam diem aggeribus, viniis, turribus oppugnabam oppidum munitissimum, Pindenissum, tantis opibus tantoque negotio, ut mihi ad summam gloriam nihil desit, nisi nomen oppidi. Quod si, ut spero, cepero, tum vero litteras publice mittam. (4) Haec ad te in praesenti
15 scripsi, ut sperares te adsequi id quod optasses. Sed ut redeam ad Parthos, haec aestas habuit hunc exitum satis felicem ; ea, quae sequitur, magno est in timore. Quare, mi Rufe, vigila, primum ut mihi succedatur ; sin id erit, ut scribis, et ut ego arbitror, spissius, illud, quod facile
20 est, ne quid mihi temporis prorogetur. De re publica ex tuis litteris, ut antea tibi scripsi, cum praesentia tum etiam futura magis exspecto. Quare, ut ad me omnia quam diligentissime perscribas, te vehementer rogo.

LX. M. CICERO IMP. S.D. C. CURIONI TR. PL. (IN
CAMP IN CILICIA, DECEMBER 19, 51)

Sera gratulatio reprehendi non solet, praesertim si nulla
25 negligentia praetermissa est ; longe enim absum, audio sero ; sed tibi et gratulor, et ut sempiternae laudi tibi sit iste tribunatus, exopto teque hortor, ut omnia gubernes et moderere prudentia tua, ne te auferant aliorum consilia. Nemo est, qui tibi sapientius suadere possit te ipso ; num-

quam labere, si te audies. Non scribo hoc temere ; cui scribam, video ; novi animum, novi consilium tuum ; non vereor, ne quid timide, ne quid stulte facias, si ea defendes, quae ipse recta esse senties. (2) Quod in rei publicae tempus non incideris, sed veneris — iudicio enim tuo, non 5 casu, in ipsum discrimen rerum contulisti tribunatum tuum — profecto vides ; quanta vis in re publica temporum sit, quanta varietas rerum, quam incerti exitus, quam flexibiles hominum voluntates, quid insidiarum, quid vanitatis in vita, non dubito quin cogites. Sed, amabo te, cura et 10 cogita — nihil novi, sed illud idem, quod initio scripsi : tecum loquere, te adhibe in consilium, te audi, tibi optempera. Alteri qui melius consilium dare possit quam tu, non facile inveniri potest ; tibi vero ipsi certe nemo melius dabit. Dii immortales ! cur ego absum vel spectator 15 laudum tuarum vel particeps vel socius vel minister consiliorum ? tametsi hoc minime tibi deest ; sed tamen efficeret magnitudo et vis amoris mei, consilio te ut possem iuvare.

(3) Scribam ad te plura alias ; paucis enim diebus eram 20 missurus domesticos tabellarios, ut, quoniam sane feliciter et ex mea sententia rem publicam gessimus, unis litteris totius aetatis res gestas ad senatum perscriberem. De sacerdotio tuo quantam curam adhibuerim quamque difficili in re atque causa, cognosces ex iis litteris, quas Thra- 25 soni, liberto tuo, dedi. (4) Te, mi Curio, pro tua incredibili in me benivolentia meaque item in te singulari rogo atque oro, ne patiare quicquam mihi ad hanc provincialem molestiam temporis prorogari. Praesens tecum egi, cum te tr. pl. isto anno fore non putarem, itemque petivi saepe 30 per litteras, sed tum quasi a sectatore, nobilissimo tamen adulescente et gratiosissimo, nunc a te tr. pl. et a Curione

tribuno, non ut decernatur aliquid novi, quod solet esse difficilius, sed ut ne quid novi decernatur, ut et senati consultum et leges defendas, eaque mihi condicio maneat, qua profectus sum. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam
5 rogo.

LXI. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (IN CILICIA, BETWEEN
DECEMBER 21 AND 29, 51)

Saturnalibus mane se mihi Pindenissitae dediderunt septimo et quinquagesimo die postquam oppugnare eos coepimus. 'Qui, malum! isti Pindenissitae qui sunt?' inquires; 'nomen audivi numquam.' Quid ego faciam?
10 num potui Ciliciam Aetoliam aut Macedoniam reddere? Hoc iam sic habeto, nec hoc exercitu nec hic tanta negotia geri potuisse. Quae cognosce ἐν ἐπιτομῇ; sic enim concedis mihi proximis litteris. Ephesum ut venerim nosti, qui etiam mihi gratulatus es illius diei celebritatem, qua
15 nihil me umquam delectavit magis. Inde in oppidis iis qua iter erat, mirabiliter accepti Laodiceam pridie Kal. Sextiles venimus. Ibi morati biduum perillustres fuimus honorificisque verbis omnes iniurias revellimus superiores, quod idem Colossis, dein Apameae quinque dies morati et
20 Synnadis triduum, Philomeli quinque dies, Iconi decem fecimus. Nihil ea iuris dictione aequabilius, nihil lenius, nihil gravius. (2) Inde in castra veni a.d. VII Kalendas Septembres. A.d. III exercitum lustravi apud Iconium. Ex his castris, cum graves de Parthis nuntii venirent,
25 perrexi in Ciliciam per Cappadociae partem eam, quae Ciliciam attingit, eo consilio, ut Armenius Artavasdes et ipsi Parthi Cappadocia se excludi putarent. Cum dies quinque ad Cybistra castra habuissem, certior sum factus Parthos ab illo aditu Cappadociae longe abesse, Ciliciae

magis imminere. Itaque confestim iter in Ciliciam feci per Tauri pylas. (3) Tarsum veni a.d. III Nonas Octobres. Inde ad Amanum contendi, qui Syriam a Cilicia in aquarum divertio dividit, qui mons erat hostium plenus sempiternorum. Hic a.d. III Idus Octobr. magnum 5 numerum hostium occidimus. Castella munitissima nocturno Pomptini adventu, nostro matutino cepimus, incendimus. Imperatores appellati sumus. Castra paucos dies habuimus ea ipsa, quae contra Darium habuerat apud Issum Alexander imperator haud paulo melior quam 10 aut tu aut ego. Ibi dies quinque morati direpto et vastato Amano inde discessimus. Interim — scis enim dici quaedam *᾿πανικά*, dici item *᾿τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου* — rumore adventus nostri et Cassio, qui Antiochia tenebatur, animus accessit, et Parthis timor iniectus est. Itaque eos 15 cedentes ab oppido Cassius insecutus rem bene gessit. Qua in fuga magna auctoritate Osaces dux Parthorum vulnus accepit eoque interiit paucis post diebus. (4) Erat in Syria nostrum nomen in gratia. Venit interim Bibulus; credo, voluit appellatione hac inani nobis esse par. In 20 eodem Amano coepit loreolam in mustaceo quaerere. At ille cohortem primam totam perdidit centurionemque primi pili, nobilem sui generis, Asinium Dentonem, et reliquos cohortis eiusdem et Sex. Lucilium, T. Gavi Caepionis, locupletis et splendidi hominis, filium, tribunum 25 militum. Sane plagam odiosam acceperat cum re tum tempore. (5) Nos ad Pindenissum, quod oppidum munitissimum Eleutherocilicum omnium memoria in armis fuit. Feri homines et acres et omnibus rebus ad defendendum parati. Cinximus vallo et fossa; aggere maximo, vineis, 30 turre altissima, magna tormentorum copia, multis sagittariis, magno labore, apparatu, multis sauciis nostris,

incolumi exercitu, negotium confecimus. Hilara sane Saturnalia militibus quoque, quibus exceptis Mancipiis reliquam praedam concessimus. Mancipia venibant Saturnalibus tertiis. Cum haec scribebam, in tribunali res
 5 erat ad $\overline{HS} \overline{CXX}$. Hinc exercitum in hiberna agri male pacati deducendum Quinto fratri dabam; ipse me Laodiceam recipiebam.

(6) Haec adhuc. Sed ad praeterita revertamur. Quod me maxime hortaris et, quod pluris est quam omnia, in quo
 10 laboras, ut etiam Ligurino $\mu\acute{o}\mu\phi$ satis faciamus, moriar, si quicquam fieri potest elegantius. Nec iam ego hanc continentiam appello, quae virtus voluptati resistere videtur. Ego in vita mea nulla umquam voluptate tanta sum adfectus, quanta adficio hac integritate, nec me tam fama,
 15 quae summa est, quam res ipsa delectat. Quid quaeris? fuit tanti. Me ipse non noram nec satis sciebam, quid in hoc genere facere possem. Recte $\pi\epsilon\phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\iota$. Nihil est praeclarius. Interim haec $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}$. Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat; $\epsilon\nu \pi\alpha\rho\acute{o}\delta\omega$ consilio et auctoritate et, quod
 20 insidiatoribus eius $\alpha\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\iota\tau\omicron\nu$ me, non modo $\alpha\delta\omega\rho\omicron\delta\acute{o}\kappa\eta\tau\omicron\nu$ praebui, regem regnumque servavi. Interea e Cappadocia ne pilum quidem. Brutum abiectum, quantum potui, excitavi; quem non minus amo quam tu, paene dixi quam te. Atque etiam spero toto anno imperii nostri
 25 terruncium sumptus in provincia nullum fore.

(7) Habes omnia. Nunc publice litteras Romam mittere parabam. Uberiores erunt, quam si ex Amano missem. At te Romae non fore! Sed est totum in eo, quid Kalendis Martiis futurum sit. Vereor enim, ne, cum
 30 de provincia agetur, si Caesar resistet, nos retineamur. His tu si adesses, nihil timerem.

(8) Redeo ad urbana, quae ego diu ignorans ex tuis iu-

cundissimis litteris a.d. V Kal. Ianuarias denique cognovi. Eas diligentissime Philogenes, libertus tuus, curavit perlonga et non satis tuta via perferendas. Nam, quas Laeni pueris scribis datas, non acceperam. Iucunda de Caesare, et quae senatus decrevit, et quae tu speras.⁵ Quibus ille si cedit, salvi sumus. Incendio Plaetoriano quod Seius ambustus est, minus moleste fero. Lucecius de Q. Cassio cur tam vehemens fuerit, et quid actum sit, aveo scire.

(9) Ego cum Laodiceam venero, Quinto, sororis tuae¹⁰ filio, togam puram iubeor dare. Cui moderabor diligentius. Deiotarus, cuius auxiliis magnis usus sum, ad me, ut scripsit, cum Ciceronibus Laodiceam venturus erat. Tuas etiam Epiroticas exspecto litteras, ut habeam rationem non modo negotii, verum etiam otii tui. Nicanor¹⁵ in officio est et a me liberaliter tractatur. Quem, ut puto, Romam cum litteris publicis mittam, ut et diligentius perferantur, et idem ad me certa de te et a te referat. Alexis quod mihi totiens salutem adscribit, est gratum; sed cur non suis litteris idem facit, quod meus ad te Alexis facit?²⁰ Phemio quaeritur κέρas. Sed haec hactenus. Cura ut valeas, et ut sciam, quando cogites Romam. Etiam atque etiam vale.

(10) Tua tuosque Thermo et praesens Ephesi diligentissime commendaram et nunc per litteras ipsumque²⁵ intellexi esse perstudiosum tui. Tu velim, quod antea ad te scripsi, de domo Pammeni des operam, ut, quod tuo meoque beneficio puer habet, cures, ne qua ratione convellatur. Utrique nostrum honestum existimo; tum mihi erit pergratum.

LXII. M. CICERO IMP. S.D. M. CATONI. (TARSUS,
END OF 51 OR EARLY IN 50)

Summa tua auctoritas fecit meumque perpetuum de tua singulari virtute iudicium, ut magni mea interesse putarem et res eas, quas gessissem, tibi notas esse et non ignorari a te, qua aequitate et continentia tuerer socios provinciam-
5 que administrarem. Iis enim a te cognitis arbitrabar facilius me tibi quae vellem probaturum.

(2) Cum in provinciam pr. K. Sext. venissem et propter anni tempus ad exercitum mihi confestim esse eundum viderem, biduum Laodiceae fui, deinde Apameae quadri-
10 duum, triduum Synnadis, totidem dies Philomeli. Quibus in oppidis cum magni conventus fuissent, multas civitates acerbissimis tributis et gravissimis usuris et falso aere alieno liberavi. Cumque ante adventum meum seditione quadam exercitus esset dissipatus, quinque cohortes sine
15 legato, sine tribuno militum, denique etiam sine centurione ullo, apud Philomelium consedissent, reliquus exercitus esset in Lycaonia, M. Anneio legato imperavi, ut eas quinque cohortes ad reliquum exercitum duceret coactoque in unum locum exercitu castra in Lycaonia apud Iconium
20 faceret. (3) Quod cum ab illo diligenter esset factum, ego in castra a.d. VII K. Sept. veni, cum interea superioribus diebus ex s.c. et evocatorum firmam manum et equitatum sane idoneum et populorum liberorum regumque sociorum auxilia voluntaria comparavissem. Interim cum exercitu
25 lustrato iter in Ciliciam facere coepissem, K. Sept. legati a rege Commageno ad me missi pertumultuose neque tamen non vere Parthos in Syriam transisse nuntiaverunt; (4) quo audito vehementer sum commotus cum de Syria tum de mea provincia, de reliqua denique Asia. Itaque

exercitum mihi ducendum per Cappadociae regionem eam, quae Ciliciam attingeret, putavi. Nam si me in Ciliciam demissem, Ciliciam quidem ipsam propter montis Amani naturam facile tenuissem — duo sunt enim aditus in Ciliciam ex Syria, quorum uterque parvis praesidiis propter 5 angustias intercludi potest, nec est quicquam Cilicia contra Syriam munitius — sed me Cappadocia movebat, quae patet a Syria regesque habet finitimos, qui etiamsi sunt clam amici nobis, tamen aperte Parthis inimici esse non audent. Itaque in Cappadocia extrema non longe a Tauro 10 apud oppidum Cybistra castra feci, ut et Ciliciam tuerer et Cappadociam tenens nova finitimorum consilia impedirem.

(5) Interea in hoc tanto motu tantaque exspectatione maximi belli rex Deiotarus, cui non sine causa plurimum semper et meo et tuo et senatus iudicio tributum est, vir 15 cum benevolentia et fide erga populum R. singulari tum praestanti magnitudine et animi et consilii, legatos ad me misit se cum omnibus suis copiis in mea castra esse venturum. Cuius ego studio officioque commotus egi ei per litteras gratias idque ut maturaret hortatus sum. (6) Cum 20 autem ad Cybistra propter rationem belli quinque dies essem moratus, regem Ariobarzanem, cuius salutem a senatu te auctore commendatam habebam, praesentibus insidiis necopinantem liberavi neque solum ei salutem fui, sed etiam curavi, ut cum auctoritate regnaret. Metram et eum, 25 quem tu mihi diligenter commendaras, Athenaeum, importunitate Athenaidis exsilio multatos in maxima apud regem auctoritate gratiaque constitui, cumque magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se, quod facturus putabatur, defenderet, adulescens et equi-30 tatu et peditatu et pecunia paratus et tot sociis, qui novari aliquid volebant, perfeci, ut e regno ille discederet,

rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis omni auctoritate aulae communita regnum cum dignitate obtineret.

(7) Interea cognovi multorum litteris atque nuntiis magnas Parthorum copias et Arabum ad oppidum Antiocheam accessisse magnumque eorum equitatum, qui in Ciliciam transisset, ab equitum meorum turmis et a cohorte praetoria, quae erat Epiphaneae praesidii causa, occidione occisum. Quare, cum viderem a Cappadocia Parthorum copias aversas non longe a finibus esse Ciliciae, quam potui maximis itineribus ad Amanum exercitum duxi. Quo ut veni, hostem ab Antiochea recessisse, Bibulum Antiocheae esse cognovi. Deiotarum confestim iam ad me venientem cum magno et firmo equitatu et peditatu et cum omnibus suis copiis certiolem feci non videri esse causam, cur abesset a regno, meque ad eum, si quid novi forte accidisset, statim litteras nuntiosque missurum esse.

(8) Cumque eo animo venissem, ut utrique provinciae, si ita tempus ferret, subvenirem, tum id, quod iam ante statueram vehementer interesse utriusque provinciae, pacare Amanum et perpetuum hostem ex eo monte tollere, agere perrexī. Cumque me discedere ab eo monte simulassem et alias partis Ciliciae petere abessemque ab Amano iter unius diei et castra apud Epiphaneam fecissem, a.d. III Id. Oct., cum advesperasceret, expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut a.d. III Id. Oct., cum lucisceret, in Amanum ascenderem, distributisque cohortibus et auxiliis, cum aliis Quintus frater legatus mecum simul, aliis C. Pomptinus legatus, reliquis M. Anneius et L. Tullius legati praessent, plerosque necopinantis oppressimus, qui occisi captique sunt interclusi fuga. (9) Eranam autem, quae fuit non vici instar, sed urbis, quod erat Amani caput, itemque Sepyram et Commorim acriter et diu repugnans

tibus Pomptino illam partem Amani tenente ex antelucano tempore usque ad horam diei X magna multitudine hostium occisa cepimus castellaque vi capta complura incendimus. His rebus ita gestis castra in radicibus Amani habuimus apud Aras Alexandri quadriduum et in reliquiis Amani⁵ delendis agrisque vastandis, quae pars eius montis meae provinciae est, id tempus omne consumpsimus. (10) Confectis his rebus ad oppidum Eleutherocilicum Pindenissum exercitum adduxi. Quod cum esset altissimo et munitissimo loco ab iisque incoleretur, qui ne regibus quidem um-¹⁰ quam paruissent, cum et fugitivos reciperent et Parthorum adventum acerrime expectarent, ad existimationem imperii pertinere arbitratus sum comprimere eorum audaciam, quo facilius etiam ceterorum animi, qui alieni essent ab imperio nostro, frangerentur. Vallo et fossa circum-¹⁵ dedi, sex castellis castrisque maximis saepsi, aggere, vineis, turribus oppugnavi ususque tormentis multis, multis sagittariis magno labore meo, sine ulla molestia sumptuve sociorum septimo quinquagensimo die rem confeci, ut omnibus partibus urbis disturbatis aut incensis compulsi in²⁰ potestatem meam pervenirent. His erant finitimi pari scelere et audacia Tebarani. Ab iis Pindenisso capto obsides accepi; exercitum in hiberna dimisi; Quintum fratrem negotio praeposui, ut in vicis aut captis aut male pacatis exercitus conlocaretur.

25

(11) Nunc velim sic tibi persuadeas, si de iis rebus ad senatum relatum sit, me existimaturum summam mihi laudem tributam, si tu honorem meum sententia tua comprobaris, idque, etsi talibus de rebus gravissimos homines et rogare solere et rogari scio, tamen admonendum potius³⁰ te a me quam rogandum puto. Tu es enim is, qui me tuis sententiis saepissime ornasti, qui oratione, qui praedica-

tionem, qui summis laudibus in senatu, in contionibus ad caelum extulisti; cuius ego semper tanta esse verborum pondera putavi, ut uno verbo tuo cum mea laude coniuncto omnia adsequi me arbitrarer; te denique memini, cum cuidam clarissimo atque optimo viro supplicationem non decerneres, dicere te decreturum, si referretur ob eas res, quas is consul in urbe gessisset; tu idem mihi supplicationem decrevistis togato non, ut multis, re p. bene gesta, sed, ut nemini, re p. conservata. (12) Mitto, quod invidiā, quod pericula, quod omnis meas tempestates et subieris et multo etiam magis, si per me licuisset, subire paratissimus fueris, quod denique inimicum meum tuum inimicum putaris, cuius etiam interitum, cum facile intellegerem, mihi quantum tribueres, Milonis causa in senatu defendenda adprobaris. A me autem haec sunt profecta, quae non ego in beneficii loco pono, sed in veri testimonii atque iudicii, ut praestantissimas tuas virtutes non tacitus admirarer — quis enim id non facit? — sed in omnibus orationibus, sententiis dicendis, causis agendis, omnibus scriptis Graecis, Latinis, omni denique varietate litterarum mearum te non modo iis, quos vidissemus, sed iis, de quibus audissemus, omnibus anteferebam.

(13) Quaeres fortasse, quid sit, quod ego hoc nescio quid gratulationis et honoris a senatu tanti aestimem. Agam iam tecum familiariter, ut est et studiis et officiis nostris mutuis et summa amicitia dignum et necessitudine etiam paterna. Si quisquam fuit unquam remotus et natura et magis etiam, ut mihi quidem sentire videor, ratione atque doctrina ab inani laude et sermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is sum. Testis est consulatus meus, in quo sicut in reliqua vita fateor ea me studiose secutum, ex quibus vera gloria nasci posset, ipsam quidem gloriam per se numquam pu-

tavi expetendam. Itaque et provinciam ornatam et spem non dubiam triumphi neglexi, sacerdotium denique, cum, quem ad modum te existimare arbitror, non difficillime consequi possem, non appetivi; idem post iniuriam acceptam, quam tu rei p. calamitatem semper appellas, 5 meam non modo non calamitatem, sed etiam gloriam, studui quam ornatissima senatus populique R. de me iudicia intercedere. Itaque et augur postea fieri volui, quod antea neglexeram, et eum honorem, qui a senatu tribui rebus bellicis solet, neglectum a me olim nunc mihi 10 expetendum puto.

(14) Huic meae voluntati, in qua inest aliqua vis desiderii ad sanandum vulnus iniuriae, ut faveas adiutorque sis, quod paulo ante me negaram rogaturum, vehementer te rogo, sed ita, si non ieiumum hoc nescio quid, quod ego 15 gessi, et contemnendum videbitur, sed tale atque tantum, ut multi nequaquam paribus rebus honores summos a senatu consecuti sint. Equidem etiam illud mihi animum advertisse videor — scis enim quam attente te audire soleam — te non iam res gestas quam mores institutamque 20 vitam imperatorum spectare solere in habendis aut non habendis honoribus. Quod si in mea causa considerabis, reperies me exercitu imbecillo contra metum maximi belli firmissimum praesidium habuisse aequitatem et continentiam. His ego subsidiis ea sum consecutus, quae nullis 25 legionibus consequi potuissem, ut ex alienissimis sociis amicissimos, ex infidelissimis firmissimos redderem animosque novarum rerum expectatione suspensos ad veteris imperii benevolentiam traducerem.

(15) Sed nimis haec multa de me, praesertim ad te, a 30 quo uno omnium sociorum querelae audiuntur. Cognosces ex iis, qui meis institutis se recreatos putant; cum-

que omnes uno prope consensu de me apud te ea, quae mihi optatissima sunt, praedicabunt, tum duae maximae clientelae tuae, Cyprus insula et Cappadociae regnum, tecum de me loquentur, puto etiam regem Deiotarum, qui
 5 uni tibi est maxime necessarius. Quae si etiam maiora sunt, et in omnibus saeculis pauciores viri reperti sunt, qui suas cupiditates quam qui hostium copias vincerent, est profecto tuum, cum ad res bellicas haec, quae rariora et difficiliora sunt, genera virtutis adiunxeris, ipsas etiam
 10 illas res gestas iustiores esse et maiores putare.

(16) Extremum illud est, ut quasi diffidens rogationi meae philosophiam ad te allegem, qua nec mihi carior ulla umquam res in vita fuit, nec hominum generi maius a deis munus ullum est datum. Haec igitur, quae mihi tecum
 15 communis est, societas studiorum atque artium nostrarum, quibus a pueritia dediti ac devincti soli prope modum nos philosophiam veram illam et antiquam, quae quibusdam otii esse ac desidia videtur, in forum atque in rem p. atque in ipsam aciem paene deduximus, tecum agit de
 20 mea laude ; cui negari a Catone fas esse non puto. Quam ob rem tibi sic persuadeas velim, si mihi tua sententia tributus honos ex meis litteris fuerit, me sic existimaturum, cum auctoritate tua tum benevolentia erga me mihi, quod maxime cupierim, contigisse.

LXIII. M. CICERO IMP. S.D. M. CAELIO AEDILI
 CURULI. (LAODICEA, FEBRUARY, 50)

25 M. Fadio, viro optimo et homine doctissimo, familiarissime utor mirificeque eum diligo cum propter summum ingenium eius summamque doctrinam tum propter singularem modestiam. Eius negotium sic velim suscipias, ut si esset res mea. Novi ego vos magnos patronos ; homi-

nem occidat oportet, qui vestra opera uti velit. Sed in hoc homine nullam accipio excusationem. Omnia relinques, si me amabis, cum tua opera Fadius uti volet.

Ego res Romanas vehementer exspecto et desidero in primisque, quid agas, scire cupio; nam iam diu propter 5 hiemis magnitudinem nihil ad nos novi afferebatur.

LXIV. CICERO S.D. APPIO PULCHRO. (LAODICEA, ABOUT FEBRUARY 13, 50)

Pluribus verbis ad te scribam cum plus otii nactus ero; haec scripsi subito, cum Bruti pueri Laudiceae me convenissent et se Romam properare dixissent. Itaque nullas iis praeterquam ad te et ad Brutum dedi litteras. 10

(2) Legati Appiani mihi volumen a te plenum querelae iniquissimae reddiderunt, quod eorum aedificationem litteris meis impedissem. Eadem autem epistula petebas, ut eos quam primum, ne in hiemem inciderent, ad facultatem aedificandi liberarem, et simul peracute querebare 15 quod eos tributa exigere vetarem, prius quam ego re cognita permissem; genus enim quoddam fuisse impediendi, cum ego cognoscere non possem, nisi cum ad hiemem me ex Cilicia recepissem. (3) Ad omnia accipe et cognosce aequitatem expostulationis tuae. Primum, cum ad 20 me aditum esset ab iis, qui dicerent a se intolerabilia tributa exigi, quid habuit iniquitatis me scribere, ne facerent ante quam ego rem causamque cognossem? Non poteram, credo, ante hiemem; sic enim scribis. Quasi vero ad cognoscendum ego ad illos, non illi ad me venire debuerint. 25 'Tam longe?' inquis. Quid? cum dabas iis litteras, per quas mecum agebas, ne eos impedirem, quominus ante hiemem aedificarent, non eos ad me venturos arbitrabare? Tametsi id quidem fecerunt ridicule; quas enim litteras

adferebant, ut opus aestate facere possent, eas mihi post
brumam reddiderunt. Sed scito et multo pluris esse, qui
de tributis recusent, quam qui exigi velint, et me tamen,
quod te velle existimem, esse facturum. De Appianis
5 hactenus.

(4) A Pausania, Lentuli liberto, accenso meo, audiui,
cum diceret te secum esse questum, quod tibi obviam non
prodissem. Scilicet contempsisti te, nec potest fieri me
quicquam superbius! Cum puer tuus ad me secunda fere
10 vigilia venisset, isque te ante lucem Iconium mihi ven-
turum nuntiasset, incertumque, utra via, cum essent duae,
altera Varronem, tuum familiarissimum, altera Q. Leptam,
praefectum fabrum meum, tibi obviam misi. Mandavi
utrique eorum, ut a te ad me excurrerent, ut tibi obviam
15 prodire possem. Currens Lepta venit mihique nuntiavit
te iam castra praetergressum esse. Confestim Iconium
veni. Cetera iam tibi nota sunt. An ego tibi obviam non
prodirem, primum Ap. Claudio, deinde imperatori, deinde
more maiorum, deinde, quod caput est, amico, cum in isto
20 genere multo etiam ambitiosius facere soleam, quam honos
meus et dignitas postulat? (5) Sed haec hactenus. Illud
idem Pausania dicebat te dixisse: 'Quidni? Appius Len-
tulo, Lentulus Ampio processit obviam, Cicero Appio
noluit?' Quaeso, etiamne tu has ineptias, homo mea
25 sententia summa prudentia, multa etiam doctrina, plurimo
rerum usu, addo urbanitatem, quae est virtus, ut Stoici
rectissime putant? ullam Appietatem aut Lentulitatem
valere apud me plus quam ornamenta virtutis existimas?
Cum ea consecutus nondum eram, quae sunt hominum
30 opinionibus amplissima, tamen ista vestra nomina num-
quam sum admiratus; viros eos, qui ea vobis reliquissent,
magnos arbitrabar. Postea vero quam ita et cepi et gessi

maxima imperia, ut mihi nihil neque ad honorem neque ad gloriam acquirendum putarem, superiorem quidem numquam, sed parem vobis me speravi esse factum. Nec mehercule aliter vidi existimare vel Cn. Pompeium, quem omnibus, qui umquam fuerunt, vel P. Lentulum, quem mihi ipsi antepono; tu si aliter existimas, nihil errabis, si paulo diligentius, ut quid sit εὐγένεια, quid sit nobilitas, intellegas, Athenodorus, Sandonis filius, quid de his rebus dicat, attenderis.

(6) Sed ut ad rem redeam, me tibi non amicum modo, verum etiam amicissimum existimes velim. Profecto omnibus officiis meis efficiam, ut ita esse vere possis iudicare. Tu autem si quid agis, ut minus mea causa, dum ego apsim, debere videaris, quam ego tua laborarim, libero te ista cura;

15

πάρ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι,
οἳ κέ με τιμήσουσι, μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.

Si autem natura es φιλαίτιος, illud non perficies, quominus tua causa velim; hoc adsequere, ut, quam in partem tu accipias, minus laborem. Haec ad te scripsi liberius fretus conscientia officii mei benivolentiaeque, quam a me certo iudicio susceptam, quoad tu voles, conservabo.

LXV. CICERO APPIO PULCHRO S. (LAODICEA, ABOUT
FEBRUARY 20, 50)

Vix tandem legi litteras dignas Ap. Claudio, plenas humanitatis, officii, diligentiae. Aspectus videlicet urbis tibi tuam pristinam urbanitatem reddidit; nam, quas ex itinere, ante quam ex Asia egressus es, ad me litteras

misisti, unas de legatis a me prohibitis proficisci, alteras de Appianorum aedificatione impedita, legi perinvitus; itaque conscientia meae constantis erga te voluntatis rescripsi tibi subiratus. Iis vero litteris lectis, quas
 5 Philotimo, liberto meo, dedisti, cognovi intellexique in provincia multos fuisse, qui nos, quo animo inter nos sumus, esse nollent, ad urbem vero ut accesseris, vel potius ut primum tuos videris, cognosse te ex iis, qua in te absentem fide, qua in omnibus officiis tuendis erga te
 10 observantia et constantia fuisset. Itaque quanti illud me aestimare putas, quod est in tuis litteris scriptum, si quid inciderit, quod ad meam dignitatem pertineat, etsi vix fieri possit, tamen te parem mihi gratiam relaturum? Tu vero facile facies; nihil est enim, quod studio et bene-
 15 volentia vel amore potius effici non possit.

(2) Ego, etsi et ipse ita iudicabam et fiebam crebro a meis per litteras certior, tamen maximam laetitiam cepi ex tuis litteris de spe minime dubia et plane explorata triumphi tui, neque vero ob eam causam, quo ipse facilius
 20 consequeretur — nam id quidem Ἐπικούρειον est — sed mehercule quod tua dignitas atque amplitudo mihi est ipsa cara per se. Quare, quoniam pluris tu habes quam ceteri, quos scias in hanc provinciam proficisci, quod te adeunt fere omnes, si quid velis, gratissimum mihi feceris,
 25 si ad me, simulatque adeptus eris, quod et tu confidis et ego opto, litteras miseris. ‘Longi subsellii,’ ut noster Pompeius appellat, iudicatio et mora si quem tibi item unum alterumve diem abstulerit — quid enim potest amplius? — tua tamen dignitas suum locum obtinebit; sed,
 30 si me diligis, si a me diligi vis, ad me litteras, ut quam primum laetitia adficiar, mittito.

(3) Et velim, reliquum quod est promissi ac muneris

tui, mihi persolvas. Cum ipsam cognitionem iuris augurii consequi cupio tum mehercule tuis incredibiliter studiis erga me muneribusque delector. Quod autem a me tale quiddam desideras, sane mihi considerandum est, quonam te remunerer potissimum genere. Nam profecto non est 5 meum, qui in scribendo, ut soles admirari, tantum industriae ponam, committere, ut neglegens in scribendo fuisse videar, praesertim cum id non modo neglegentis, sed etiam ingrati animi crimen futurum sit.

(4) Verum haec videbimus. Illud, quod polliceris, 10 velim pro tua fide diligentiaque et pro nostra non instituta, sed iam inveterata amicitia cures, enitare, ut supplicatio nobis quam honorificentissime quam primumque decernatur. Omnino serius misi litteras, quam vellem — in quo cum difficultas navigandi fuit odiosa, tum in ipsum dis- 15 cessum senatus incidisse credo meas litteras—sed id feci adductus auctoritate et consilio tuo idque a me recte factum puto, quod non statim, ut appellatus imperator sim, sed aliis rebus additis aestivisque confectis litteras miserim. Haec igitur tibi erunt curae, quem ad modum ostendis, 20 meque totum et mea et meos commendatos habebis.

LXVI. M. CICERO IMP. S.D. M. CAELIO AEDILI
CURULI. (LAODICEA, APRIL 4, 50)

Putaresne umquam accidere posse, ut mihi verba deessent, neque solum ista verba oratoria, sed haec etiam levia nostratia? Desunt autem propter hanc causam, quod mirifice sum sollicitus, quidnam de provincia decerna- 25 tur. Mirum me desiderium tenet urbis, incredibile meorum atque in primis tui, satietas autem provinciae, vel quia videmur eam famam consecuti, ut non tam accessio quaerenda quam fortuna metuenda sit, vel quia totum

negotium non est dignum viribus nostris, qui maiora onera in re publica sustinere et possim et soleam, vel quia belli magni timor impendet, quod videmur effugere, si ad constitutam diem decedamus.

5 (2) De pantheris per eos, qui venari solent, agitur mandatu meo diligenter; sed mira paucitas est, et eas, quae sunt, valde aiunt queri, quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in mea provincia nisi sibi fiat. Itaque constituisse dicuntur in Cariam ex nostra provincia decedere. Sed tamen sedulo
10 fit et in primis a Patisco. Quicquid erit, tibi erit, sed, quid esset, plane nesciebamus. Mihi mehercule magnae curae est aedilitas tua; ipse dies me admonebat; scripsi enim haec ipsis Megalensibus. Tu velim ad me de omni rei publicae statu quam diligentissime perscribas; ea enim
15 certissima putabo, quae ex te cognoro.

LXVII. M. CATO S.D. M. CICERONI IMP. (ROME,
END OF APRIL OR BEGINNING OF MAY, 50)

Quod et res p. me et nostra amicitia hortatur, libenter facio, ut tuam virtutem, innocentiam, diligentiam cognitam in maximis rebus domi togati, armati foris, pari industria administrare gaudeam. Itaque, quod pro meo
20 iudicio facere potui, ut innocentia consilioque tuo defensam provinciam, servatum Ariobarzanis cum ipso rege regnum, sociorum revocatam ad studium imperii nostri voluntatem sententia mea et decreto laudarem, feci.

(2) Supplicationem decretam, si tu, qua in re nihil fortuito,
25 sed summa tua ratione et continentia rei p. provisum est, dis immortalibus gratulari nos quam tibi referre acceptum mavis, gaudeo; quodsi triumphi praerogativam putas supplicationem et idcirco casum potius quam te laudari mavis, neque supplicationem sequitur semper triumphus,

et triumpho multo clarius est senatum iudicare potius mansuetudine et innocentia imperatoris provinciam quam vi militum aut benignitate deorum retentam atque conservatam esse ; quod ego mea sententia censebam.

(3) Atque haec ego idcirco ad te contra consuetudinem 5 meam pluribus scripsi, ut, quod maxime volo, existimes me laborare, ut tibi persuadeam me et voluisse de tua maiestate, quod amplissimum sim arbitratus, et, quod tu maluisti, factum esse gaudere. Vale et nos dilige et instituto itinere severitatem diligentiamque sociis et rei p. praesta. 10

LXVIII. M. CICERO IMP. S.D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CURULI. (CILICIA, END OF JUNE, 50)

Sollicitus equidem eram de rebus urbanis ; ita tumultuosae contiones, ita molestae Quinquatrus adferebantur — nam citeriora nondum audiebamus — ; sed tamen nihil me magis sollicitabat quam in iis molestiis non me, si ridenda essent, ridere tecum ; sunt enim multa, sed ea non 15 audeo scribere. Illud moleste fero, nihil me adhuc his de rebus habere tuarum litterarum. Quare, etsi cum tu haec leges, ego iam annum munus confecero, tamen obviae mihi velim sint tuae litterae, quae me erudiant de omni re publica, ne hospes plane veniam. Hoc melius 20 quam tu facere nemo potest.

(2) Diogenes tuus, homo modestus, a me cum Philone Pessinunte discessit. Iter habebant ad Adiatorigem, quamquam omnia nec benigna nec copiosa cognorant. Urbem, urbem, mi Rufe, cole et in ista luce vive ; omnis pere- 25 grinatio, quod ego ab adolescentia iudicavi, obscura et sordidast iis, quorum industria Romae potest inlustris esse. Quod cum probe scirem, utinam in sententia permansissem ! cum una mehercule ambulatiuncula atque

uno sermone nostro omnis fructus provinciae non confero.
 (3) Spero me integritatis laudem consecutum ; non erat
 minor ex contemnenda quam est ex conservata provincia.
 'Spem triumphi?' inquis. Satis gloriose triumpharem ;
 5 non essem quidem tam diu in desiderio rerum mihi carissimarum. Sed, ut spero, propediem te videbo ; tu mihi obviam mitte epistulas te dignas.

LXIX. M. CICERO S.D. M. CATONI. (TARSUS, ABOUT
 JULY 30, 50)

'Laetus sum laudari me,' inquit Hector, opinor, apud Naevium, 'aps te, pater, a laudato viro.' Ea est enim
 10 profecto iucunda laus, quae ab iis proficiscitur, qui ipsi in laude vixerunt. Ego vero vel gratulatione litterarum tuarum vel testimoniis sententiae dictae nihil est quod me non adsecutum putem, idque mihi cum amplissimum tum gratissimum est, te libenter amicitiae dedisse, quod
 15 liquide veritati dares. Et si non modo omnes, verum etiam multi Catones essent in civitate nostra, in qua unum exstitisse mirabile est, quem ego currum aut quam lauream cum tua laudatione conferrem? Nam ad meum sensum et ad illud sincerum ac subtile iudicium nihil potest
 20 esse laudabilius quam ea tua oratio, quae est ad me per-scripta a meis necessariis. (2) Sed causam meae voluntatis, non enim dicam 'cupiditatis,' exposui tibi superioribus litteris ; quae etiamsi parum iusta tibi visa est, hanc tamen habet rationem, non ut nimis concupiscendus honos,
 25 sed tamen, si deferatur a senatu, minime aspernandus esse videatur. Spero autem illum ordinem pro meis ob rem p. susceptis laboribus me non indignum honore, usitato praesertim, existimaturum. Quod si ita erit, tantum ex te peto, quod amicissime scribis, ut, cum tuo iudicio, quod

amplissimum esse arbitraris, mihi tribueris, si id, quod maluero, acciderit, gaudeas. Sic enim fecisse te et sensisse et scripsisse video, resque ipsa declarat tibi illum honorem nostrum supplicationis iucundum fuisse, quod scribendo adfuisti; haec enim senatus consulta non ignoro 5 ab amicissimis eius, cuius de honore agitur, scribi solere. Ego, ut spero, te prope diem videbo, atque utinam re p. meliore, quam timeo!

LXX. M. CICERO IMP. S.D. M. CAELIO AEDILI
CURULI. (SIDA, AUGUST 3 OR 4, 50)

Non potuit accuratius agi nec prudentius, quam est actum a te cum Curione de supplicatione, et hercule con- 10fecta res ex mea sententia est cum celeritate, tum quod is, qui erat iratus, competitor tuus et idem meus, adsensus est ei, qui ornavit res nostras divinis laudibus. Quare scito me sperare ea quae secuntur; ad quae tu te para. (2) Dolabellam a te gaudeo primum laudari, deinde etiam 15 amari; nam ea, quae speras Tulliae meae prudentia temperari posse, scio cui tuae epistolae respondeant. Quid, si meam legas, quam ego tum ex tuis litteris misi ad Ap-pium? Sed quid agas? sic vivitur. Quod actum est, di adprobent. Spero fore iucundum generum nobis, mul- 20 tumque in eo tua nos humanitas adiuvabit.

(3) Res publica me valde sollicitat. Faveo Curioni, Caesarem honestum esse cupio, pro Pompeio emori possum; sed tamen ipsa res publica nihil mihi est carius, in qua tu non valde te iactas; districtus enim mihi videris 25 esse, quod et bonus civis et bonus amicus es.

(4) Ego de provincia decedens quaestorem Coelium praeposui provinciae. 'Puerum?' inquis. At quae-storem, at nobilem adolescentem, at omnium fere ex-

emplo. Neque erat superiore honore usus, quem prae-
ficerem. Pomptinus multo ante discesserat; a Quinto
fratre impetrari non poterat; quem tamen si reliquissem,
dicerent iniqui non me plane post annum, ut senatus
5 voluisset, de provincia decessisse, quoniam alterum me
reliquissem. Fortasse etiam illud adderent, senatum eos
voluisse provinciis praeesse, qui antea non praefuissent,
fratrem meum triennium Asiae praefuisse. Denique
nunc sollicitus non sum; si fratrem reliquissem, omnia
10 timerem. Postremo non tam mea sponte quam poten-
tissimorum duorum exemplo, qui omnis Cassios Antoni-
osque complexi sunt, hominem adulescentem non tam
allicere volui quam alienare nolui. Hoc tu meum con-
siliium laudes necessest, mutari enim non potest.

15 (5) De Ocella parum ad me plane scripseras, et in actis
non erat. Tuae res gestae ita notae sunt, ut trans montem
Taurum etiam de Matrinio sit auditum. Ego, nisi quid
me etesiae morabuntur, celeriter, ut spero, vos videbo.

LXXI. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ATHENS, OCTOBER 16, 50)

Dederam equidem L. Saufeio litteras et dederam ad te
20 unum, quod, cum non esset temporis mihi ad scribendum
satis, tamen hominem tibi tam familiarem sine meis lit-
teris ad te venire nolebam; sed, ut philosophi ambulant,
has tibi redditum iri putabam prius. Sin iam illas acce-
pisti, scis me Athenas venisse pr. Idus Octobres, e navi
25 egressum in Piraeum tuas ab Acasto nostro litteras ac-
cepisse, conturbatum, quod cum febre Romam venisses,
bono tamen animo esse coepisse, quod Acastus ea, quae
vellem, de allevato corpore tuo nuntiaret, cohorruiisse
autem eo, quod tuae litterae de legionibus Caesaris ad-

ferrent, et egisse tecum, ut videres, ne quid φιλοτιμία eius, quem nosti, nobis noceret, et, de quo iam pridem ad te scripseram, Turranius autem secus tibi Brundisi dixerat — quod ex iis litteris cognovi, quas a Xenone, optimo viro, accepi — cur fratrem provinciae non praefecissem, 5 exposui breviter. (2) Haec fere sunt in illa epistula. Nunc audi reliqua.

Per fortunas ! omnem tuum amorem, quo me es amplexus, omnemque tuam prudentiam, quam mehercule in omni genere iudico singularem, confer ad eam curam, ut de 10 omni statu meo cogites. Videre enim mihi videor tantam dimicationem, nisi idem deus, qui nos melius quam optare auderemus, Parthico bello liberavit, respexerit rem publicam, — sed tantam quanta numquam fuit. Age, hoc malum mihi commune est cum omnibus. Nihil tibi mando 15 ut de eo cogites, illud meum proprium πρόβλημα, quaeso, suscipe. Videsne, ut te auctore sim utrumque complexus ? Ac vellem a principio te audisse amicissime monentem.

‘ Ἄλλ’ ἐμὸν οὐποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθες.’

Sed aliquando tamen persuasisti, ut alterum complecterer, 20 quia de me erat optime meritus, alterum, quia tantum valebat. Feci igitur itaque effeci omni obsequio, ut neutri illorum quisquam esset me carior. (3) Haec enim cogitabamus, nec mihi coniuncto cum Pompeio fore necesse peccare in re publica aliquando nec cum Caesare sentienti 25 pugnandum esse cum Pompeio. Tanta erat illorum coniunctio. Nunc impendet, ut et tu ostendis, et ego video, summa inter eos contentio. Me autem uterque numerat suum, nisi forte simulat alter. Nam Pompeius non 30 dubitat ; vere enim iudicat ea, quae de re publica nunc sentiat, mihi valde probari. Utriusque autem accepi eius

modi litteras eodem tempore quo tuas, ut neuter quemquam omnium pluris facere quam me videretur. (4) Verum quid agam? Non quaero illa ultima — si enim castris res geretur, video cum altero vinci satius esse quam
 5 cum altero vincere — sed illa, quae tum agentur, cum venero, ne ratio absentis habeatur, ut exercitum dimittat. ‘Dic, M. Tulli.’ Quid dicam? ‘Exspecta, amabo te, dum Atticum conveniam?’ Non est locus ad tergiversandum. ‘Contra Caesarem?’ ‘Ubi illae sunt densae
 10 dexteræ?’ Nam, ut illi hoc liceret, adiuvi rogatus ab ipso Ravennae de Caelio tribuno pl. Ab ipso autem? Etiam a Gnaeo nostro in illo divino tertio consulatu. Aliter sensero; αἰδέομαι non Pompeium modo, sed
 Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας.

15 ‘Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει.’

Quis? Tu ipse scilicet laudator et factorum et scriptorum meorum. (5) Hanc ergo plagam effugi per duos superiores Marcellorum consulatus, cum est actum de provincia Caesaris, nunc incido in discrimen ipsum?
 20 Itaque, ut stultior, primus suam sententiam dicat, mihi valde placet de triumpho nos moliri aliquid, extra urbem esse cum iustissima causa. Ridebis hoc fortasse. Quam vellem etiam nunc in provincia morari! Plane opus fuit, si hoc impendebat. Etsi nil miserius. Nam, ὁδοῦ
 25 πάρεργον, volo te hoc scire. Omnia illa prima, quae etiam tu litteris in caelum ferebas, ἐπίτηκτα fuerunt. (6) Quam non est facilis virtus! quam vero difficilis eius diuturna simulatio! Cum enim hoc rectum et gloriosum putarem, ex annuo sumptu, qui mihi decretus esset, me C. Coelio
 30 quaestori relinquere annuum, referre in aerarium ad HS[X], ingemuit nostra cohors omne illud putans distribui sibi

oportere, ut ego amicioi invenirer Phrygum et Cilicum aerariis quam nostro. Sed me non moverunt; nam et mea laus apud me plurimum valuit, nec tamen quicquam honorifice in quemquam fieri potuit, quod praetermiserim. Sed haec fuerit, ut ait Thucydides, 'ἐκβολὴ λόγου' non 5 inutilis.

(7) Tu autem de nostro statu cogitabis, primum quo artificio tueamur benevolentiam Caesaris, deinde de ipso triumpho; quem video, nisi rei publicae tempora impedient, ἐνπόριστον. Iudico autem cum ex litteris amicorum 10 tum ex supplicatione. Quam qui non decrevit, plus decrevit quam si omnes decresset triumphos. Ei porro ad-sensus est unus familiaris meus, Favonius, alter iratus, Hirrus. Cato autem et scribendo adfuit et ad me de sententia sua iucundissimas litteras misit. Sed tamen 15 gratulans mihi Caesar de supplicatione triumphat de sententia Catonis nec scribit, quid ille sententiae dixerit, sed tantum, supplicationem eum mihi non decrevisse.

(8) Redeo ad Hirrum. Coeperas eum mihi placare; perface. Habes Scrofam, habes Silium. Ad eos ego et 20 iam antea scripsi ad ipsum Hirrum. Locutus enim erat cum iis commode se potuisse impedire, sed noluisse; ad-sensum tamen esse Catoni, amicissimo meo, cum is honorificentissimam in me sententiam dixisset; nec me ad se ullas litteras misisse, cum ad omnes mitterem. Verum 25 dicebat. Ad eum enim solum et ad Crassipedem non scripseram. (9) Atque haec de rebus forensibus; redeamus domum.

Diiungere me ab illo volo. Merus est φυρατής, germanus Lartidius.

30

‘Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν ἀχρύνενοί περ.’

Reliqua expediamus, hoc primum, quod accessit cura dolori meo. Sed tamen hoc, quicquid est, Precianum cum iis rationibus, quas ille meas tractat, admisceri nolo. Scripsi ad Terentiam, scripsi etiam ad ipsum, me, quicquid possem nummorum, ad apparatus sperati triumphi ad te redacturum. Ita puto ἀμεμπτα fore; verum ut libebit. Hanc quoque suscipe curam, quem ad modum experiamur. Id tu et ostendisti quibusdam litteris ex Epiro an Athenis datis, et in eo ego te adiuvabo.

LXXII. TULLIUS S.D. TERENTIAE SUAE. (ATHÈNS, OCTOBER 16, 50)

10 Si tu et Tullia, lux nostra, valetis, ego et suavissimus Cicero valemus. Pr. Idus Oct. Athenas venimus, cum sane adversis ventis usi essemus tardeque et incommode navigassemus. De nave exeuntibus nobis Acastus cum litteris praesto fuit uno et vicesimo die sane strenue.

15 Accepi tuas litteras, quibus intellexi te vereri, ne superiores mihi redditae non essent. Omnes sunt redditae, diligentissimeque a te perscripta sunt omnia, idque mihi gratissimum fuit. Neque sum admiratus hanc epistulam quam Acastus attulit brevem fuisse; iam enim me ipsum

20 exspectas sive nos ipsos, qui quidem quam primum ad vos venire cupimus, etsi in quam rem p. veniamus intellego. Cognovi enim ex multorum amicorum litteris, quas attulit Acastus, ad arma rem spectare, ut mihi, cum venero, dissimulare non liceat quid sentiam. Sed quoniam

25 subeunda fortunast, eo citius dabimus operam ut veniamus, quo facilius de tota re deliberemus. Tu velim, quod commodo valetudinis tuae fiat, quam longissime poteris, obviam nobis prodeas.

(2) De hereditate Preciana — quae quidem mihi magno

dolori est ; valde enim illum amavi — sed hoc velim cures, si auctio ante meum adventum fiet, ut Pomponius aut, si minus poterit, Camillus nostrum negotium curet ; nos cum salvi venerimus, reliqua per nos agemus ; sin tu iam Roma profecta eris, tamen curabis, ut hoc ita fiat. Nos, ⁵ si dii adiuvent, circiter Idus Nov. in Italia speramus fore. Vos, mea suavissima et optatissima Terentia, si nos amatis, curate, ut valeatis. Vale. Athenis a.d. XVII K. Novemb.

LXXIII. TULLIUS TIRONI SUO S.P.D. ET CICERO MEUS ET FRATER ET FRATRIS F. (ON THE WAY FROM CILICIA TO ITALY, NOVEMBER 3, 50)

Paulo facilius putavi posse me ferre desiderium tui, sed ¹⁰ plane non fero et quamquam magni ad honorem nostrum interest quam primum ad urbem me venire, tamen peccasse mihi videor, qui a te discesserim ; sed quia tua voluntas ea videbatur esse, ut prorsus nisi confirmato corpore nolles navigare, adprobavi tuum consilium neque ¹⁵ nunc muto, si tu in eadem es sententia ; sin autem, posteaquam cibum cepisti, videris tibi posse me consequi, tuum consilium est. Marionem ad te eo misi, ut aut tecum ad me quam primum veniret aut, si tu morarere, statim ad me rediret. (2) Tu autem hoc tibi persuade, si commodo ²⁰ valetudinis tuae fieri possit, nihil me malle quam te esse mecum ; si autem intelleges opus esse te Patris convalescendi causa paulum commorari, nihil me malle quam te valere. Si statim navigas, nos Leucade consequere ; sin te confirmare vis, et comites et tempestates et navem idoneam ut habeas diligenter videbis. Unum illud, mi Tiro, videto, si me amas, ne te Marionis adventus et hae litterae moveant. Quod valetudini tuae maxime conducet,

si feceris, maxime obtemperaris voluntati meae. (3) Haec pro tuo ingenio considera. Nos ita te desideramus, ut amemus; amor, ut valentem videamus, hortatur, desiderium, ut quam primum; illud igitur potius. Cura ergo
 5 potissimum ut valeas. De tuis innumerabilibus in me officiis erit hoc gratissimum. III Non. Nov.

LXXIV. TULLIUS TIRONI SUO S.P.D. ET CICERO ET Q. FRATER ET Q. F. (LEUCAS, NOVEMBER 7, 50)

Varie sum adfectus tuis litteris, valde priore pagina perturbatus, paulum altera recreatus. Quare nunc quidem non dubito, quin, quoad plane valeas, te neque navigationi
 10 neque viae committas. Satis te mature videro, si plane confirmatum videro. De medico et tu bene existimari scribis, et ego sic audio; sed plane curationes eius non probo; ius enim dandum tibi non fuit, cum *κακοστόμαχος* esses. Sed tamen et ad illum scripsi accurate et ad Ly-
 15 sonem. (2) Ad Curium vero, suavissimum hominem et summi officii summaeque humanitatis, multa scripsi, in his etiam, ut, si tibi videretur, te ad se traferret; Lyso enim noster vereor ne negligentior sit, primum quia omnes Graeci, deinde quod, cum a me litteras accepisset,
 20 mihi nullas remisit. Sed eum tu laudas; tu igitur, quid faciendum sit, iudicabis. Illud, mi Tiro, te rogo, sumptu ne parcas ulla in re, quod ad valetudinem opus sit. Scripsi ad Curium, quod dixisses, daret. Medico ipsi puto aliquid dandum esse, quo sit studiosior. (3) Innumerabilia
 25 tua sunt in me officia domestica, forensia, urbana, provincialia, in re privata, in publica, in studiis, in litteris nostris; omnia viceris, si, ut spero, te validum videro. Ego puto te bellissime, si recte erit, cum quaestore Mescinio decursurum. Non inhumanus est teque, ut mihi visus est,

diligit. Et cum valetudini tuae diligentissime consuleris, tum, mi Tiro, consulto navigationi. Nulla in re tam te festinare volo; nihil laboro, nisi ut salvus sis. (4) Sic habeto, mi Tiro, neminem esse, qui me amet, quin idem te amet, et cum tua et mea maxime interest te valere, 5 tum multis est curae. Adhuc, dum mihi nullo loco desse vis, numquam te confirmare potuisti; nunc te nihil impedit; omnia depone, corpori servi. Quantam diligentiam in valetudinem tuam contuleris, tanti me fieri a te iudicabo. Vale, mi Tiro, vale, vale et salve. Lepta tibi 10 salutem dicit et omnes. Vale. VII Id. Nov. Leucade.

LXXV. TULLIUS ET CICERO ET Q.Q. TIRONI HUMANISSIMO ET OPTIMO S.P.D. (LEUCAS, NOVEMBER 7, 50)

Vide, quanta sit in te suavitas. Duas horas Thyrei fuimus. Xenomenes hospes tam te diligit, quam si vixerit tecum. Is omnia pollicitus est, quae tibi essent opus; facturum puto. Mihi placebat, si firmior esses, ut te 15 Leucadem deportaret, ut ibi te plane confirmares. Videbis, quid Curio, quid Lysoni, quid medico placeat. Volebam ad te Marionem remittere, quem, cum meliuscule tibi esset, ad me mitteres; sed cogitavi unas litteras Marionem adferre posse, me autem crebras expectare. 20 (2) Poteris igitur et facies, si me diligis, ut cotidie sit Acastus in portu. Multi erunt, quibus recte litteras dare possis, qui ad me lubenter perferant; equidem Patras euntem neminem praetermittam. Ego omnem spem tui diligenter curandi in Curio habeo. Nihil potest illo fieri 25 humanius, nihil nostri amantius. Ei te totum trade. Malo te paulo post valentem quam statim imbecillum videre. Cura igitur nihil aliud, nisi ut valeas; cetera ego

curabo. Etiam atque etiam vale. Leucade proficiscens
VII Id. Nov.

LXXVI. TULLIUS ET CICERO ET Q.Q. TIRONI S.P.D.
(ACTIUM, NOVEMBER 7, 50)

Tertiam ad te hanc epistulam scripsi eodem die magis
instituti mei tenendi causa, quia nactus eram, cui darem,
5 quam quo haberem, quid scriberem. Igitur illa: quan-
tum me diligis, tantum adhibe in te diligentiae; ad tua
innumerabilia in me officia adde hoc, quod mihi erit gra-
tissimum omnium; cum valetudinis rationem, ut spero,
habueris, habeto etiam navigationis; in Italiam euntibus
10 omnibus ad me litteras dabis, ut ego euntem Patras nemi-
nem praetermitto; cura, cura te, mi Tiro. Quoniam non
contigit, ut simul navigares, nihil est, quod festines nec
quicquam cures, nisi ut valeas. Etiam atque etiam vale.
VII Idus Nov. Actio vesperi.

LXXVII. TULLIUS ET CICERO TIRONI SUO S.P.D.
(BRUNDISIUM, NOVEMBER 28, 50)

15 Nos a te, ut scis, discessimus a.d. IIII Non. Nov. Leu-
cadem venimus a.d. VIII Id. Nov., a.d. VII Actium. Ibi
propter tempestatem a.d. VI Id. morati sumus. Inde a.d.
V Id. Corcyram bellissime navigavimus. Coreyrae fuimus
usque ad a.d. XVI K. Dec. tempestatibus retenti. A.d.
20 XV K. in portum Coreyraeorum ad Cassiopen stadia CXX
processimus. Ibi retenti ventis sumus usque ad a.d.
VIII K. Interea, qui cupide profecti sunt, multi nau-
fragia fecerunt. (2) Nos eo die cenati solvimus; inde
austro lenissimo caelo sereno nocte illa et die postero in
25 Italiam ad Hydruntem ludibundi pervenimus eodemque

vento postridie — id erat a.d. VII K. Dec. — hora IIII Brundisium venimus, eodemque tempore simul nobiscum in oppidum introiit Terentia, quae te facit plurimi.

A.d. V K. Dec. servus Cn. Planci Brundisi tandem aliquando mihi a te exspectatissimas litteras reddidit datas 5 Idibus Nov., quae me molestia valde levarunt; utinam omnino liberassent! Sed tamen Asclapo medicus plane confirmat prope diem te valentem fore. (3) Nunc quid ego te horter, ut omnem diligentiam adhibeas ad con-
valescendum? Tuam prudentiam, temperantiam, amorem 10 erga me novi; scio te omnia facturum, ut nobiscum quam primum sis, sed tamen ita velim, ut ne quid properes. Symphoniam Lysonis vellem vitasses, ne in quartam hebdomada incideres; sed quoniam pudori tuo maluisti obsequi quam valetudini, reliqua cura. Curio misi, ut 15 medico honos haberetur, et tibi daret, quod opus esset; me, cui iussisset, curaturum. Equum et mulum Brundisi tibi reliqui. Romae vereor ne ex K. Ian. magni tumultus sint. Nos agemus omnia modice. (4) Reliquum est, ut te hoc rogem et a te petam, ne temere naviges — solent 20 nautae festinare quaestus sui causa — cautus sis, mi Tiro, — mare magnum et difficile tibi restat — si poteris, cum Mescinio — caute is solet navigare —, si minus, cum honesto aliquo homine, cuius auctoritate navicularius moveatur. In hoc omnem diligentiam si adhibueris teque no- 25 bis incolumem steteris, omnia a te habebo. Etiam atque etiam, noster Tiro, vale. Medico, Curio, Lysoni de te scripsi diligentissime. Vale, salve.

LXXVIII. TULLIUS ET CICERO, TERENTIA, TULLIA,
Q.Q. TIRONI S.P.D. (NEAR ROME, JANUARY 12, 49)

Etsi opportunitatem operae tuae omnibus locis desidero, tamen non tam mea quam tua causa doleo te non valere; sed quoniam in quartanam conversa vis est morbi — sic enim scribit Curius — spero te diligentia adhibita iam
5 firmiorem fore; modo fac, id quod est humanitatis tuae, ne quid aliud cures hoc tempore, nisi ut quam commodissime convalescas. Non ignoro, quantum ex desiderio labores; sed erunt omnia facilia, si valebis. Festinare te nolo, ne nauseae molestiam suscipias aeger et periculose
10 hieme naviges.

(2) Ego ad urbem accessi pr. Non. Ian. Obviam mihi sic est proditum, ut nihil possit fieri ornatius; sed incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiae vel potius belli. Cui cum cuperem mederi et, ut arbitror, possem, cupiditates
15 certorum hominum — nam ex utraque parte sunt qui pugnare cupiant — impedimento mihi fuerunt. Omnino et ipse Caesar, amicus noster, minacis ad senatum et acerbis litteras miserat et erat adhuc impudens, qui exercitum et provinciam invito senatu teneret, et Curio meus illum
20 incitabat; Antonius quidem noster et Q. Cassius nulla vi expulsi ad Caesarem cum Curione profecti erant, posteaquam senatus consulibus, pr., tr. pl. et nobis, qui pro cos. sumus, negotium dederat, ut curaremus, ne quid res p. detrimenti caperet. (3) Numquam maiore in periculo
25 civitas fuit, numquam improbi cives habuerunt paratiorem ducem. Omnino ex hac quoque parte diligentissime comparatur. Id fit auctoritate et studio Pompei nostri, qui Caesarem sero coepit timere.

Nobis inter has turbas senatus tamen frequens flagitavit triumphum; sed Lentulus consul, quo maius suum

beneficium faceret, simul atque expedissèt, quae essent necessaria de re p., dixit se relaturum. Nos agimus nihil cupide, eoque est nostra pluris auctoritas. Italiae regiones discriptae sunt, quam quisque partem tueretur. Nos Capuam sumpsimus. 5

Haec te scire volui. Tu etiam atque etiam cura, ut valeas litterasque ad me mittas, quotienscumque habebis, cui des. Etiam atque etiam vale. D. pr. Idus Ian.

LXXIX. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE ET PATER
SUA VISSIMAE FILIAE, CICERO MATRI ET SO-
RORI S.D.P. (FORMIAE, JANUARY 24, 49)

Considerandum vobis etiam atque etiam, animae meae, diligenter puto, quid faciatis, Romaene sitis an mecum 10
an aliquo tuto loco; id non solum meum consilium est, sed etiam vestrum. Mihi veniunt in mentem haec, Romae vos esse tuto posse per Dolabellam, eamque rem posse nobis adiumento esse, si quae vis aut si quae rapinae fieri coeperint. Sed rursus illud me movet, quod video 15
omnis bonos abesse Roma et eos mulieres suas secum habere. Haec autem regio, in qua ego sum, nostrorum est cum oppidorum tum etiam praediorum, ut et multum esse mecum, et cum abieritis, commode et in nostris esse possitis. (2) Mihi plane non satis constat adhuc, utrum 20
sit melius. Vos videte, quid aliae faciant isto loco feminae, et ne, cum velitis, exire non liceat. Id velim diligenter etiam atque etiam vobiscum et cum amicis consideretis. Domus ut propugnacula et praesidium habeat, Philotimo dicetis; et velim tabellarios instituatis certos, ut 25
cotidie aliquas a vobis litteras accipiam; maxime autem date operam, ut valeatis, si nos vultis valere. VIII K. Formiis.

LXXX. TULLIUS TERENTIAE ET PATER TULLIAE
DUABUS ANIMIS SUIS, ET CICERO MATRI OPTIMAE, SUAVISSIMAE SORORI S.P.D. (MINTURNAE,
JANUARY 25, 49)

Si vos valetis, nos valemus. Vestrum iam consilium est, non solum meum, quid sit vobis faciendum. Si ille Romam modeste venturus est, recte in praesentia domi esse potestis; sin homo amens diripiendam urbem daturus est, 5 vereor, ut Dolabella ipse satis nobis prodesse possit. Etiam illud metuo, ne iam intercludamur, ut, cum velitis exire, non liceat. Reliquum est, quod ipsae optime considerabitis, vestri similes feminae sintne Romae; si enim non sunt, videndum est, ut honeste vos esse possitis. Quo 10 modo quidem nunc se res habet, modo ut haec nobis loca tenere liceat, bellissime vel mecum vel in nostris praediis esse poteritis. Etiam illud verendum est, ne brevi tempore fames in urbe sit. (2) His de rebus velim cum Pomponio, cum Camillo, cum quibus vobis videbitur, consi- 15 deretis, ad summam, animo forti sitis. Labienus rem meliorem fecit; adiuvat etiam Piso, quod ab urbe discedit et sceleris condemnat generum suum. Vos, meae carissimae animae, quam saepissime ad me scribite, et vos quid agatis, et quid istic agatur. Quintus pater et filius et 20 Rufus vobis s.d. Valete. VIII K. (Quinct) Menturnis.

LXXXI. TULLIUS S.D. TIRONI SUO. (CAPUA, JANUARY 29, 49)

Quo in discrimine versetur salus mea et bonorum omnium atque universae rei p., ex eo scire potes, quod domos nostras et patriam ipsam vel diripiendam vel inflammandam reliquimus. In eum locum res deductast, ut, nisi qui

deus vel casus aliquis subvenerit, salvi esse nequeamus. (2) Equidem, ut veni ad urbem, non destiti omnia et sentire et dicere et facere, quae ad concordiam pertinerent; sed mirus invaserat furor non solum improbis, sed etiam iis, qui boni habentur, ut pugnare cuperent, me clamante 5 nihil esse bello civili miserius. Itaque cum Caesar amenitia quadam raperetur et oblitus nominis atque honorum suorum Ariminum, Pisaurum, Anconam, Arretium occupavisset, urbem reliquimus, quam sapienter aut quam fortiter, nihil attinet disputari. (3) Quo quidem in casu 10 simus, vides. Feruntur omnino condiciones ab illo, ut Pompeius eat in Hispaniam, dilectus, qui sunt habiti, et praesidia nostra dimittantur; se ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem Considio Noniano — his enim obtigerunt — traditurum; ad consulatus petitionem se ven- 15 turum, neque se iam velle absente se rationem haberi suam; se praesentem trinum nundinum petiturum. Accepimus condiciones, sed ita, ut removeat praesidia ex iis locis, quae occupavit, ut sine metu de his ipsis condicionibus Romae senatus haberi possit. (4) Id ille si fecerit, spes est pacis, 20 non honestae, — leges enim imponuntur; — sed quidvis est melius quam sic esse ut sumus. Sin autem ille suis condicionibus stare noluerit, bellum paratum est, eius modi tamen, quod sustinere ille non possit, praesertim cum a suis condicionibus ipse fugerit; tantum modo ut 25 eum intercludamus, ne ad urbem possit accedere, quod sperabamus fieri posse. Dilectus enim magnos habebamus putabamusque illum metuere, si ad urbem ire coepisset, ne Gallias amitteret, quas ambas habet inimicissimas praeter Transpadanos, ex Hispaniaque sex legiones et 30 magna auxilia Afranio et Petreio ducibus habet a tergo. Videtur, si insaniet, posse opprimi, modo ut urbe salva.

Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod is, qui summam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus socius sceleris esse noluit. Reliquit illum et est nobiscum, multique idem facturi esse dicuntur.

5 (5) Ego adhuc orae maritimae praesum a Formiis. Nullum maius negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum meae litterae cohortationesque ad pacem valerent. Sin autem erit bellum, video me castris et certis legionibus praefuturum. Habeo etiam illam molestiam, quod Dola-
10 bella noster apud Caesarem est.

Haec tibi nota esse volui; quae cave ne te perturbent et impediant valetudinem tuam. (6) Ego A. Varroni, quem cum amantissimum mei cognovi tum etiam valde tui studiosum, diligentissime te commendavi, ut et vale-
15 tudinis tuae rationem haberet et navigationis et totum te susciperet et tueretur. Quem omnia facturum confido; recepit enim et mecum locutus est suavissime. Tu, quoniam eo tempore mecum esse non potuisti, quo ego maxime operam et fidelitatem desideravi tuam, cave
20 festines aut committas, ut aut aeger aut hieme naviges. Numquam sero te venisse putabo, si salvus veneris. Adhuc neminem videram, qui te postea vidisset quam M. Volusius, a quo tuas litteras accepi. Quod non mirabar; neque enim meas puto ad te litteras tanta hieme perferri.
25 Sed da operam, ut valeas et, si valebis, cum recte navigari poterit, tum naviges. Cicero meus in Formiano erat, Terentia et Tullia Romae. Cura, ut valeas. IIII K. Febr. Capua.

LXXXII. CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S.D. L. DOMITIO
PROCOS. (LUCERIA, FEBRUARY 17, 49)

Litterae mihi a te redditae sunt a.d. XIII Kal. Martias. in quibus scribis Caesarem apud Corfinium castra posuisse, Quod putavi et praemonui fit, ut nec in praesentia committere tecum proelium velit et omnibus copiis conductis te implicet, ne ad me iter tibi expeditum sit atque istas 5 copias coniungere optimorum civium possis cum his legionibus, de quarum voluntate dubitamus. Quo etiam magis tuis litteris sum commotus. Neque enim eorum militum, quos mecum habeo, voluntate satis confido, ut de omnibus fortunis rei publicae dimicem, neque etiam, qui 10 ex dilectibus conscripti sunt consulibus, convenerunt.

(2) Quare da operam, si ulla ratione etiam nunc efficere potes, ut te explices, hoc quam primum venias, antequam omnes copiae ad adversarium conveniant. Neque enim celeriter ex dilectibus hoc homines convenire possunt, et, 15 si convenirent, quantum iis committendum sit, qui inter se ne noti quidem sunt, contra veteranas legiones, non te praeterit.

LXXXIII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (FROM HIS ESTATE AT
CALES, FEBRUARY 18, 49)

Maximis et miserrimis rebus perturbatus, cum coram tecum mihi potestas deliberandi non esset, uti tamen tuo 20 consilio volui. Deliberatio autem omnis haec est, si Pompeius Italia excedat, quod eum facturum esse suspicor, quid mihi agendum putes. Et quo facilius consilium dare possis, quid in utramque partem mihi in mentem veniat explicabo brevi.

25

(2) Cum merita Pompei summa erga salutem meam

familiaritasque, quae mihi cum eo est, tum ipsa rei publicae causa me adducit, ut mihi vel consilium meum cum illius consilio vel fortuna mea cum illius fortuna coniungenda esse videatur. Accedit illud. Si maneo et illum comitatum optimorum et clarissimorum civium desero, cadendum est in unius potestatem. Qui etsi multis rebus significat se nobis esse amicum — et, ut esset, a me est, tute scis, propter suspicionem huius impendentis tempestatis multo ante provisum — tamen utrumque considerandum est, et quanta fides ei sit habenda, et, si maxime exploratum sit eum nobis amicum fore, sitne viri fortis et boni civis esse in ea urbe, in qua cum summis honoribus imperiisque usus sit, res maximas gesserit, sacerdotio sit amplissimo praeditus, non futurus sit qui fuerit, subeundumque periculum sit cum aliquanto maiore dedecore, si quando Pompeius rem publicam recuperarit. In hac parte haec sunt.

(3) Vide nunc, quae sint in altera. Nihil actum est a Pompeio nostro sapienter, nihil fortiter, addo etiam nihil nisi contra consilium auctoritatemque meam. Omitto illa vetera, quod istum in rem publicam ille aluit, auxit, armavit, ille legibus per vim et contra auspicia ferendis auctor, ille Galliae ulterioris adiunctor, ille gener, ille in adoptando P. Clodio augur, ille restituendi mei quam retinendi studiosior, ille provinciae propagator, ille absentis in omnibus adiutor, idem etiam tertio consulatu, postquam esse defensor rei publicae coepit, contendit, ut decem tribuni pl. ferrent, ut absentis ratio haberetur, quod idem ipse sanxit lege quadam sua, Marcoque Marcello consuli finienti provincias Gallias Kalendarum Martiarum die restitit — sed ut haec omittam, quid foedius, quid perturbatius hoc ab urbe discessu sive potius turpissima

fuga? Quae condicio non accipienda fuit potius quam relinquenda patria? Malae condiciones erant, fateor, sed num quid hoc peius? (4) At recuperabit rem publicam. Quando? aut quid ad eam spem est parati? Non ager Picens amissus? non patefactum iter ad urbem? 5 non pecunia omnis et publica et privata adversario tradita? Denique nulla causa, nullae vires, nulla sedes, quo concurrant, qui rem publicam defensam velint. Apulia delecta est, inanissima pars Italiae et ab impetu huius belli remotissima; fuga et maritima opportunitas visa quaeri 10 desperatione. Lente cepi Capuam, non quo munus illud defugerem, sed diffidens causae, in qua nullus esset ordinum, nullus apertus privatorum dolor, bonorum autem esset aliquis, sed hebes, ut solet, et, ut ipse sensissem, multitudo et infimus quisque propensus in alteram partem, 15 multi mutationis rerum cupidi, dixi ipsi me nihil suscepturum sine praesidio et sine pecunia. (5) Itaque habui nihil omnino negotii, quod ab initio vidi nihil quaeri praeter fugam. Eam si nunc sequor, quonam? Cum illo non; ad quem cum essem profectus, cognovi in iis 20 locis esse Caesarem, ut tuto Luceriam venire non possem. Infero mari nobis incerto cursu hieme maxima navigandum est. Age iam, cum fratre an sine eo cum filio? at quo modo? In utraque enim re summa difficultas erit, summus animi dolor; qui autem impetus illius erit in nos ab- 25 sentis fortunasque nostras! Acrior quam in ceterorum, quod putabit fortasse in nobis violandis aliquid se habere populare. Age iam, has compedes, fascis, inquam, hos laureatos eferre ex Italia quam molestum est! qui autem locus erit nobis tutus, ut iam placatis utamur fluctibus, 30 antequam ad illum venerimus? Qua autem aut quo, nihil scimus. (6) At, si restitero, et fuerit nobis in hac

parte locus, idem fecero quod in Cinnae dominatione L. Philippus, quod L. Flaccus, quod Q. Mucius, quoquo modo ea res huic quidem cecidit; qui tamen ita dicere solebat, se id fore videre, quod factum est, sed malle quam armatum ad patriae moenia accedere. Aliter Thrasybulus et fortasse melius. Sed est certa quaedam illa Muci ratio atque sententia, est illa etiam, et cum sit necesse, servire tempori et non amittere tempus, cum sit datum. Sed in hoc ipso habent tamen idem fasces molestiam. Sit enim
10 nobis amicus, quod incertum est, sed sit; deferet triumphum. Non accipere vide ne periculosum sit, accipere invidiosum ad bonos. 'O rem,' inquis, 'difficilem et inexplicabilem!' Atqui explicanda est. Quid enim fieri potest? Ac, ne me existimaris ad manendum esse pro-
15 pensiolem, quod plura in eam partem verba fecerim, potest fieri, quod fit in multis quaestionibus, ut res verbosior haec fuerit, illa verior. Quam ob rem ut maxima de re aequo animo deliberanti ita mihi des consilium velim. Navis et in Caieta est parata nobis et Brundisi.

20 (7) Sed ecce nuntii scribente me haec ipsa noctu in Caleno, ecce litterae Caesarem ad Corfinium, Domitium Corfini cum firmo exercitu et pugnare cupiente. Non puto etiam hoc Gnaeum nostrum commissurum, ut Domitium relinquat; etsi Brundisium Scipionem cum cohortibus duabus praemiserat, legionem Fausto conscriptam
25 in Siciliam sibi placere a consule duci scripserat ad consules. Sed turpe Domitium deserere erit implorantem eius auxilium. Est quaedam spes mihi quidem non magna, sed in his locis firma, Afranium in Pyrenaeo cum Trebonio
30 pugnasse, pulsum Trebonium, etiam Fabium tuum transisse cum cohortibus, summa autem Afranium cum magnis copiis adventare. Id si est, in Italia fortasse manebitur.

Ego autem, cum esset incertum iter Caesaris, quod vel ad Capuam vel ad Luceriam iturus putabatur, Leptam misi ad Pompeium cum litteris; ipse, ne quo inciderem, reverti Formias.

Haec te scire volui scripsique sedatiore animo, quam 5 proxime scripseram, nullum meum iudicium interponens, sed exquirens tuum.

LXXXIV. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (FORMIAE, MARCH
1, 49)

Lippitudinis meae signum tibi sit librarii manus et eadem causa brevitatis; etsi nunc quidem, quod scriberem, nihil erat. Omnis expectatio nostra erat in nun- 10 tiis Brundisinis. Si nactus hic esset Gnaeum nostrum, spes dubia pacis, sin ille ante tramisisset, exitiosi belli metus. Sed videsne, in quem hominem inciderit res publica, quam acutum, quam vigilantem, quam paratum? Si mehercule neminem occiderit, nec cuiquam quicquam 15 ademerit, ab iis, qui eum maxime timuerant, maxime diligetur. (2) Multum mecum municipales homines loquuntur, multum rusticani; nihil prorsus aliud curant nisi agros, nisi villulas, nisi nummulos suos. Et vide, quam conversa res sit; illum, quo antea confidebant, me- 20 tuunt, hunc amant, quem timebant. Id quantis nostris peccatis vitiisque evenerit, non possum sine molestia cogitare. Quae autem impendere putarem, scripseram ad te et iam tuas litteras expectabam.

LXXXV. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (FORMIAE, MARCH
11, 49)

Nos adhuc Brundisio nihil. Roma scripsit Balbus, pu- 25 tari iam Lentulum consulem tramisisse nec eum a minore

Balbo conventum, quod is hoc iam Canusi audisset ; inde ad se eum scripsisse ; cohortesque sex, quae Albae fuissent, ad Curium via Minucia transisse ; id Caesarem ad se scripsisse, et brevi tempore eum ad urbem futurum.

- 5 Ergo utar tuo consilio neque me Arpinum hoc tempore abdam, etsi Ciceroni meo togam puram cum dare Arpini vellem, hanc eram ipsam excusationem relicturus ad Caesarem. Sed fortasse in eo ipso offendetur, cur non Romae potius. Ac tamen, si est conveniendum, hic potissimum.
- 10 Tum reliqua videbimus, id est et quo et qua et quando.

- (2) Domitius, ut audio, in Cosano est et quidem, ut aiunt, paratus ad navigandum, si in Hispaniam, non probo, si ad Gnaeum, laudo ; quovis potius certe, quam ut Cur-tium videat, quem ego patronus aspicere non possum.
- 15 Quid alios ? Sed, opinor, quiescamus, ne nostram culpam coarguamus, qui, dum urbem, id est patriam, amamus dumque rem conventuram putamus, ita nos gessimus, ut plane interclusi captique simus.

- (3) Scripta iam epistula Capua litterae sunt allatae hoc
20 exemplo : ' Pompeius mare transiit cum omnibus militibus quos secum habuit. Hic numerus est hominum milia triginta et consules duo et tribuni pl. et senatores, qui fuerunt cum eo, omnes cum uxoribus et liberis. Conscen-disse dicitur a. d. IIII Nonas Martias. Ex ea die fuere
25 septemtriones venti. Navis, quibus usus non est, omnis aut praecidisse aut incendisse dicunt.'

- De hac re litterae L. Metello tribuno pl. Capuam allatae sunt a Clodia socru, quae ipsa transiit. (4) Ante sollicitus eram et angebar, sicut res scilicet ipsa coge-bat,
30 cum consilio explicare nihil possem ; nunc autem, postquam Pompeius et consules ex Italia exierunt, non angor, sed ardeo dolore,

‘ οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ
ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ’ ἀλαλύκτῃμαι.’

Non sum, inquam, mihi crede, mentis compos; tantum mihi dedecoris admisisse videor. Mene non primum cum Pompeio qualicumque consilio uso, deinde cum bonis esse 5 quamvis causa temere instituta? praesertim cum ii ipsi, quorum ego causa timidius me fortunae committebam, uxor, filia, Cicerones pueri, me illud sequi mallent, hoc turpe et me indignum putarent. Nam Quintus quidem frater, quicquid mihi placeret, id rectum se putare aiebat, 10 id animo aequissimo sequebatur.

(5) Tuas nunc epistulas a primo lego. Hae me paulum recreant. Primae monent et rogant, ne me proiciam, proximae gaudere te ostendunt me remansisse. Eas cum lego, minus mihi turpis videor et αἰσχροῦ φαντασία. Quam ob 15 rem obsecro te, mi Tite, eripe mihi hunc dolorem aut minue saltem aut consolatione aut consilio aut quacumque re potes. Quid tu autem possis? aut quid homo quisquam? Vix iam deus.

(6) Equidem illud molior, quod tu mones sperasque 20 fieri posse, ut mihi Caesar concedat ut absim, cum aliquid in senatu contra Gnaeum agatur. Sed timeo, ne non impetrem. Venit ab eo Furnius. Ut quidem scias, quos sequamur, Q. Titini filium cum Caesare esse nuntiat, sed illum maiores mihi gratias agere, quam vellem. Quid 25 autem me roget paucis ille quidem verbis, sed ἐν δυνάμει cognosce ex ipsius epistula. Me miserum, quod tu non valuisti! una fuisset; consilium certe non defuisset; ‘ σύν τε δὺ ἐρχομένω.

(7) Sed acta ne agamus, reliqua paremus. Me adhuc 30 haec duo fefellerunt, initio spes compositionis, qua facta volebam uti populari vita, sollicitudine senectutem nos-

tram liberari; deinde bellum crudele et exitiosum suscipi a Pompeio intellegebam. Melioris medius fidius civis et viri putabam quovis supplicio adfici quam illi crudelitati non solum praeesse, verum etiam interesse.
 5 Videtur vel mori satius fuisse quam esse cum his. Ad haec igitur cogita, mi Attice, vel potius excogita. Quemvis eventum fortius feram quam hunc dolorem.

LXXXVI. CAESAR IMP. S.D. CICERONI IMP. (ON THE MARCH, EARLY IN MARCH, 49)

Cum Furnium nostrum tantum vidissem neque loqui neque audire meo commodo potuissem, properarem atque
 10 essem in itinere praemissis iam legionibus, praeterire tamen non potui, quin et scriberem ad te et illum mitterem gratiasque agerem, etsi hoc et feci saepe et saepius mihi facturum videor. Ita de me mereris. In primis a te peto, quoniam confido me celeriter ad urbem venturum, ut te
 15 ibi videam, ut tuo consilio, gratia, dignitate, ope omnium rerum uti possim. Ad propositum revertar; festinationi meae brevitatiue litterarum ignosces. Reliqua ex Furnio cognosces.

LXXXVII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (FORMIAE, MARCH 18, 49)

Nihil habebam quod scriberem. Neque enim novi
 20 quicquam audieram et ad tuas omnes rescripseram pridie. Sed cum me aegritudo non solum somno privaret, verum ne vigilare quidem sine summo dolore pateretur, tecum ut quasi loquerer, in quo uno acquiesco, hoc nescio quid nullo argumento proposito scribere institui.
 25 (2) Amens mihi fuisse videor a principio, et me una haec

res torquet, quod non omnibus in rebus labentem vel potius ruentem Pompeium tamquam manipularis secutus sim. Vidi hominem XIII K. Febr. plenum formidinis. Illo ipso die sensi, quid ageret. Numquam mihi postea placuit nec umquam aliud in alio peccare destitit. Nihil 5 interim ad me scribere, nihil nisi fugam cogitare. Quid quaeris? sicut ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς alienantur immundae, insulsaе, indecorae, sic me illius fugae neglegentiaeque deformitas avertit ab amore. Nihil enim dignum faciebat, quare eius fugae comitem me adiungerem. Nunc emergit 10 amor, nunc desiderium ferre non possum, nunc mihi nihil libri, nihil litterae, nihil doctrina prodest. Ita dies et noctes tamquam avis illa mare prospecto, evolare cupio. Do, do poenas temeritatis meae. Etsi quae fuit illa temeritas? quid feci non consideratissime? Si enim nihil 15 praeter fugam quaereretur, fugissem libentissime, sed genus belli crudelissimi et maximi, quod nondum vident homines quale futurum sit, perhorruī. Quae minae municipiis, quae nominatim viris bonis, quae denique omnibus, qui remansissent! quam crebro illud 'Sulla potuit, 20 ego non potero?' (3) Mihi autem haeserunt illa. Male Tarquinius, qui Porsenam, qui Octavium Manilium concitavit contra patriam, impie Coriolanus, qui auxilium petiit a Volscis, recte Themistocles, qui mori maluit, nefarius Hippas, Pisistrati filius, qui in Marathonia pugna 25 cecidit arma contra patriam ferens. At Sulla, at Marius, at Cinna recte, immo iure fortasse; sed quid eorum victoria crudelius, quid funestius? Huius belli genus fugi et eo magis, quod crudeliora etiam cogitari et parari videbam. Me, quem non nulli conservatorem istius urbis, quem 30 parentem esse dixerunt, Getarum et Armeniorum et Colchorum copias ad eam adducere? me meis civibus famem,

vastitatem inferre Italiae? Hunc primum mortalem esse, deinde etiam multis modis posse exstingui cogitabam, urbem autem et populum nostrum servandum ad immortalitatem, quantum in nobis esset, putabam, et tamen
 5 spes quaedam me oblectabat fore ut aliquid conveniret, potius quam aut hic tantum sceleris aut ille tantum flagitii admitteret. Alia res nunc tota est, alia mens mea. Sol, ut est in tua quadam epistula, excidisse mihi e mundo videtur. Ut aegroto, dum anima est, spes esse dicitur, sic
 10 ego, quoad Pompeius in Italia fuit, sperare non destiti. Haec, haec me fefellerunt, et, ut verum loquar, aetas iam a diuturnis laboribus devexa ad otium domesticarum me rerum delectatione mollivit. Nunc si vel periculose experiundum erit, experiar certe, ut hinc avolem. Ante
 15 oportuit fortasse; sed ea, quae scripsisti, me tardarunt et auctoritas maxime tua. (4) Nam cum ad hunc locum venissem, evolvi volumen epistularum tuarum, quod ego sub signo habeo servoque diligentissime. Erat igitur in ea, quam X K. Febr. dederas, hoc modo: 'Sed videamus,
 20 et Gnaeus quid agat, et illius rationes quorsum fluant. Quodsi iste Italiam relinquet, faciet omnino male et, ut ego existimo, ἀλογίστως, sed tum demum consilia nostra commutanda erunt.' Hoc scribis post diem quartum quam ab urbe discessimus. Deinde VIII K. Febr.: 'Tantum
 25 modo Gnaeus noster ne, ut urbem ἀλογίστως reliquit, sic Italiam relinquat.' Eodem die das alteras litteras, quibus mihi consulenti planissime respondes. Est enim sic: 'Sed venio ad consultationem tuam. Si Gnaeus Italia cedit, in urbem redeundum puto; quae enim finis peregrinationis?' Hoc mihi plane haesit, et nunc ita video, infinitum bellum iunctum miserrima fuga, quam tu peregrinationem ὑποκορίζη. (5) Sequitur χρησμός VI K.

Februarias : 'Ego, si Pompeius manet in Italia, nec res
 ad pactionem venit, longius bellum puto fore ; sin Italiam
 relinquit, ad posterum bellum ἄσπονδον strui existimo.'
 Huius igitur belli ego particeps et socius et adiutor esse
 cogor, quod et ἄσπονδον est et cum civibus? Deinde VII 5
 Idus Febr., cum iam plura audires de Pompei consilio, con-
 cludis epistulam quandam hoc modo : 'Ego quidem tibi
 non sim auctor, si Pompeius Italiam relinquit, te quoque
 profugere. Summo enim periculo facies nec rei publicae
 proderis ; quoi quidem posterius poteris prodesse, si man- 10
 seris.' Quem φιλόπατριν ac πολιτικόν hominis prudentis
 et amici tali admonitu non moveret auctoritas? (6) Dein-
 cept III Idus Febr. iterum mihi respondes consulenti sic :
 'Quod quaeris a me, fugamne defendam an moram utiliore
 putem, ego vero in praesentia subitum discessum et prae- 15
 cipitem profectionem cum tibi tum ipsi Gnaeo inutilem et
 periculosam puto et satius esse existimo vos dispertitos et
 in speculis esse ; sed medius fidiis turpe nobis puto esse
 de fuga cogitare.' Hoc turpe Gnaeus noster biennio ante
 cogitavit. Ita sullaturit animus eius et proscripserit iam 20
 diu. Inde, ut opinor, cum tu ad me quaedam γενικώτερον
 scripsisses, et ego mihi a te significari putassem, ut Italia
 cederem, detestaris hoc diligenter XI K. Mart. : 'Ego vero
 nulla epistula significavi, si Gnaeus Italia cederet, ut tu
 una cederes, aut, si significavi, non dico fui inconstans, sed 25
 demens.' In eadem epistula alio loco : 'Nihil relinquitur
 nisi fuga ; cui te socium neutiquam puto esse oportere nec
 umquam putavi.' (7) Totam autem hanc deliberationem
 evolvis accuratius in litteris VIII Kal. Mart. datis : 'Si
 M. Lepidus et L. Volcacius remanent, manendum puto, 30
 ita ut, si salvus sit Pompeius et constiterit alicubi, hanc
 νέκυναν relinquo et te in certamine vinci cum illo facilius

patiaris quam cum hoc in ea, quae perspicitur futura, col-
 luvie regnare.' Multa disputas huic sententiae conveni-
 entia. Inde ad extremum: 'Quid, si,' inquis, 'Lepidus et
 Volcacijs discedunt? Plane ἀπορῶ. Quod evenierit igitur,
 5 et quod egeris, id στερκτέον putabo.' Si tum dubitaras,
 nunc certe non dubitas istis manentibus. (8) Deinde in
 ipsa fuga V Kal. Martias: 'Interea non dubito, quin in
 Formiano mansurus sis. Commodissime enim τὸ μελλον
 ibi παραδοκήσεις.' Ad K. Mart., cum ille quintum iam
 10 diem Brundisi esset: 'Tum poterimus deliberare non sci-
 licet integra re, sed certe minus infracta, quam si una pro-
 ieceris te.' Deinde IIII Non. Martias, ὑπὸ τὴν λῆψιν cum
 breviter scriberes, tamen ponis hoc: 'Cras scribam plura
 et ad omnia; hoc tamen dicam, non paenitere me con-
 15 siliij de tua mansione et, quamquam magna sollicitudine,
 tamen, quia minus mali puto esse quam in illa pro-
 fectione, maneo in sententia et gaudeo te mansisse.'
 (9) Cum vero iam angerer et timerem, ne quid a me de-
 decoris esset admissum, III Nonas Mart.: 'Tamen te
 20 non esse una cum Pompeio non fero moleste. Postea, si
 opus fuerit, non erit difficile, et illi, quoquo tempore fiet,
 erit ἀσμενιστόν. Sed hoc ita dico, si hic, qua ratione
 initium fecit, eadem cetera aget, sincere, temperate, pru-
 denter. Valde videro et consideratius utilitati nostrae con-
 25 suluero.' (10) VII Idus Martias scribis Peducaeo quoque
 nostro probari, quod quierim; cuius auctoritas multum
 apud me valet. His ego tuis scriptis me consolor, ut
 nihil a me adhuc delictum putem. Tu modo auctoritatem
 tuam defendito; adversus me nihil opus est, sed con-
 30 sciis egeo aliis. Ego, si nihil peccavi, reliqua tuebor.
 Ad ea tute hortare et me omnino tua cogitatione adiuva.
 Hic nihildum de reditu Caesaris audiebatur. Ego his lit-

teris hoc tamen profeci, perlegi omnes tuas et in eo acquievi.

LXXXVIII. CICERO IMP. S.D. CAESARI IMP.

(FORMIAE, MARCH 19, 49)

Ut legi tuas litteras, quas a Furnio nostro acceperam, quibus mecum agebas, ut ad urbem essem, te velle uti 'consilio et dignitate mea' minus sum admiratus; de 'gratia' et de 'ope' quid significares mecum ipse quae-rebam, spe tamen deducebar ad eam cogitationem, ut te pro tua admirabili ac singulari sapientia de otio, de pace, de concordia civium agi velle arbitrarer, et ad eam rationem existimabam satis aptam esse et naturam et personam¹⁰ meam. (2) Quod si ita est, et si qua de Pompeio nostro tuendo et tibi ac rei publicae reconciliando cura te attingit, magis idoneum, quam ego sum, ad eam causam profecto reperies neminem, qui et illi semper et senatui, cum primum potui, pacis auctor fui nec sumptis armis belli¹⁵ ullam partem attigi iudicavique eo bello te violari, contra cuius honorem populi Romani beneficio concessum inimici atque invidi niterentur. Sed, ut eo tempore non modo ipse fautor dignitatis tuae fui, verum etiam ceteris auctor ad te adiuvandum, sic me nunc Pompei dignitas²⁰ vehementer movet. Aliquot enim sunt anni, cum vos duo delegi, quos praecipue colerem et quibus essem, sicut sum, amicissimus. (3) Quam ob rem a te peto vel potius omnibus te precibus oro et obtestor, ut in tuis maximis curis aliquid impertias temporis huic quoque cogitationi,²⁵ ut tuo beneficio bonus vir, gratus, pius denique esse in maximi beneficii memoria possim. Quae si tantum ad me ipsum pertinerent, sperarem me a te tamen impetraturum, sed, ut arbitror, et ad tuam fidem et ad rem pub-

licam pertinet me et pacis et utriusque vestrum amicum et ad vestram et ad civium concordiam per te quam accommodatissimum conservari. Ego, cum antea tibi de Lentulo gratias egissem, cum ei salutem, qui mihi fuerat, fuisses, tamen lectis eius litteris, quas ad me gratissimo animo de tua liberalitate beneficioque misit, eandem mi videor salutem a te accepisse quam ille. In quem si me intellegis esse gratum, cura, obsecro, ut etiam in Pompeium esse possim.

LXXXIX. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (FORMIAE, MARCH 26, 49)

10 Cum quod scriberem ad te, nihil haberem, tamen, ne quem diem intermitterem, has dedi litteras. A.d. VI K. Caesarem Sinuessae mansurum nuntiabant. Ab eo mihi litterae redditae sunt a.d. VII K., quibus iam 'opes' meas, non ut superioribus litteris 'opem' exspectat. Cum eius
15 clementiam Corfiniensem illam per litteras collaudavissem, rescripsit, hoc exemplo :

'CAESAR IMP. CICERONI IMP. SAL. DIC.

(2) Recte auguraris de me — bene enim tibi cognitus sum — nihil a me abesse longius crudelitate. Atque ego cum ex ipsa re magnam capio voluptatem tum meum factum
20 probari abs te triumpho gaudio. Neque illud me movet, quod ii, qui a me dimissi sunt, discessisse dicuntur, ut mihi rursus bellum inferrent. Nihil enim malo quam et me mei similem esse et illos sui. (3) Tu velim mihi ad urbem praesto sis, ut tuis consiliis atque opibus, ut consuevi, in
25 omnibus rebus utar. Dolabella tuo nihil scito mihi esse iucundius. Hanc adeo habebo gratiam illi ; neque enim

aliter facere poterit. Tanta eius humanitas, is sensus, ea in me est benevolentia.'

XC. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ARPINUM, MARCH 28, 49)

Utrumque ex tuo consilio; nam et oratio fuit ea nostra, ut bene potius ille de nobis existimaret quam gratias ageret, et in eo mansimus, ne ad urbem. Illa fefellerunt, 5
facilem quod putaramus. Nihil vidi minus. Damnari se nostro iudicio, tardiores fore reliquos, si nos non veniremus, dicere. Ego dissimilem illorum esse causam. Cum multa, 'Veni igitur et age de pace.' 'Meone,' inquam, 'arbitratu?' 'An tibi,' inquit, 'ego praescribam?' 'Sic,' in- 10
quam, 'agam, senatui non placere in Hispanias iri nec exercitus in Graeciam transportari, multaque,' inquam, 'de Gnaeo deplorabo.' Tum ille: 'Ego vero ista dici nolo.' 'Ita putabam,' inquam; 'sed ego eo nolo adesse, quod aut sic mihi dicendum est multaque, quae nullo modo 15
possem silere, si adessem, aut non veniendum.' Summa fuit, ut ille quasi exitum quaerens, ut deliberarem. Non fuit negandum. Ita discessimus. Credo igitur hunc me non amare. At ego me amavi, quod mihi iam pridem usu non venit.

20

(2) Reliqua, o di! qui comitatus, quae, ut tu soles dicere, νέκυνια! in qua erat ἥρως Celer. O rem perditam! o copias desperatas! Quid, quod Servi filius, quod Titini in iis castris fuerunt, quibus Pompeius circumsedetur! Sex legiones; multum vigilat, audet. Nullum video 25
finem mali. Nunc certe promenda tibi sunt consilia. Hoc fuerat extremum.

(3) Illa tamen κατακλείς illius est odiosa, quam paene praeterii, si sibi consiliis nostris uti non liceret, usurum,

quorum posset, ad omniaque esse descensurum. 'Vidisti igitur virum, ut scripseras? ingemuisti?' Certe. 'Cedo reliqua.' Quid? Continuo ipse in Pedi Norbanum, ego Arpinum. Inde exspecto equidem λαλαγεῦσαν illam
 5 tuam. 'Tu malim,' inquires, 'actum ne agas.' Etiam illum ipsum, quem sequimur, multa fefellerunt.

(4) Sed ego tuas litteras exspecto. Nihil est enim iam ut antea 'Videamus, hoc quorsum evadat.' Extremum fuit de congressu nostro; quo quidem non dubito quin
 10 istum offenderim. Eo maturius agendum est. Amabo te, epistulam et πολιτικὴν! Valde tuas litteras nunc exspecto.

XCI. CAELIUS CICERONI S. (INTIMILIUM, APRIL 16, 49)

Exanimatus tuis litteris, quibus te nihil nisi triste cogitare ostendisti neque id quid esset perscripsisti neque non
 15 tamen, quale esset, quod cogitares, aperuisti, hos ad te ilico litteras scripsi. Per fortunas tuas, Cicero, per liberos te oro et obsecro, ne quid gravius de salute et incolumitate tua consulas; nam deos hominesque amicitiamque nostram testificor me tibi praedixisse neque
 20 temere monuisse, sed, postquam Caesarem convenerim sententiamque eius, qualis futura esset parta victoria, cognorim, te certiore fecisse. Si existimas eandem rationem fore Caesaris in dimittendis adversariis et condicionibus ferendis erras; nihil nisi atrox et saevum cogitat atque
 25 etiam loquitur; iratus senatui exiit, his intercessionibus plane incitatus est; non mehercules erit deprecationi locus. (2) Quare, si tibi tu, si filius unicus, si domus, si spes tuae reliquae tibi carae sunt, si aliquid apud te nos, si vir optimus, gener tuus, valemus, quorum fortunam non

debes velle conturbare, ut eam causam, in cuius victoria salus nostra est, odisse aut relinquere cogamur aut impiam cupiditatem contra salutem tuam habeamus — denique illud cogita, quod offensae fuerit in ista cunctatione, te subisse; nunc te contra victorem Caesarem facere, quem 5 dubiis rebus laedere noluisti, et ad eos fugatos accedere, quos resistentis sequi nolueris, summae stultitiae est. Vide, ne, dum pudet te parum optimatem esse, parum diligenter, quid optimum sit, eligas. (3) Quod si totum tibi persuadere non possum, saltem, dum quid de Hi-10 spaniis agamus scitur, exspecta; quas tibi nuntio adventu Caesaris fore nostras. Quam isti spem habeant amissis Hispaniis, nescio; quod porro tuum consilium sit ad desperatos accedere, non medius fidius reperio. (4) Hoc, quod tu non dicendo mihi significasti, Caesar audierat ac, 15 simulatque 'have' mihi dixit, statim, quid de te audisset exposuit. Negavi me scire, sed tamen ab eo petii, ut ad te litteras mitteret, quibus maxime ad remanendum commoveri posses. Me secum in Hispaniam ducit; nam nisi ita faceret, ego, priusquam ad urbem accederem, ubi-20 cumque esses, ad te percurrissem et hoc a te praesens contendissem atque omni vi te retinuissem. (5) Etiam atque etiam, Cicero, cogita, ne te tuosque omnis funditus evertas, ne te sciens prudensque eo demittas, unde exitum vides nullum esse. Quodsi te aut voces optimatum com-25 movent, aut non nullorum hominum insolentiam et iactationem ferre non potes, eligas censeo aliquod oppidum vacuum a bello, dum haec decernuntur quae iam erunt confecta. Id si feceris, et ego te sapienter fecisse iudicabo, et Caesarem non offendes.

XCII. CAESAR IMP. SAL. D. CICERONI IMP. (FROM
SPAIN, APRIL 17, 49)

Etsi te nihil temere, nihil imprudenter facturum iudicaram, tamen permotus hominum fama scribendum ad te existimavi et pro nostra benevolentia petendum, ne quo progredieris proclinata iam re, quo integra etiam progressiendum tibi non existimares. Namque et amicitiae graviolem iniuriam feceris et tibi minus commode consulueris, si non fortunae obsecutus videbere — omnia enim secundissima nobis, adversissima illis accidisse videntur — nec causam secutus — eadem enim tum fuit, cum ab
10 eorum consiliis abesse iudicasti — sed meum aliquod factum condemnasse; quo mihi gravius abs te nil accidere potest. Quod ne facias, pro iure nostrae amicitiae a te peto. (2) Postremo quid viro bono et quieto et bono civi magis convenit quam abesse a civilibus controversiis?
15 Quod non nulli cum probarent, periculi causa sequi non potuerunt; tu explorato et vitae meae testimonio et amicitiae iudicio neque tutius neque honestius reperies quicquam quam ab omni contentione abesse. XV Kal. Maias ex itinere.

XCIII. M. CICERO IMP. S.D. M. CAELIO. (CUMAE,
MAY 4, 49)

20 Magno dolore me adfecissent tuae litterae, nisi iam et ratio ipsa depulisset omnes molestias, et diuturna desperatione rerum obduruisset animus ad dolorem novum. Sed tamen, quare acciderit, ut ex meis superioribus litteris id suspicarere, quod scribis, nescio; quid enim in illis fuit
25 praeter querelam temporum? quae non meum animum magis sollicitum habent quam tuum. Nam non eam co-

gnovi aciem ingenii tui, quod ipse videam, te id ut non putem videre ; illud miror, adduci potuisse te, qui me penitus nosse deberes, ut existimares aut me tam improvidum, qui ab excitata fortuna ad inclinatam et prope iacentem desciscerem, aut tam inconstantem, ut collectam gratiam 5 florentissimi hominis effunderem a meque ipse deficerem et, quod initio semperque fugi, civili bello interesssem.

(2) Quod est igitur meum 'triste consilium'? Ut discederem fortasse in aliquas solitudines. Nosti enim non stomachi mei, cuius tu similem quondam habebas, sed 10 etiam oculorum in hominum insolentium indignitate fastidium. Accedit etiam molesta haec pompa lictorum meorum nomenque imperii quo appellor. Eo si onere carem, quamvis parvis Italiae latebris contentus essem ; sed incurrit haec nostra laurus non solum in oculos, sed iam 15 etiam in vuculas malevolorum. Quod cum ita esset, nil tamen umquam de profectione nisi vobis adprobantibus cogitavi. Sed mea praediola tibi nota sunt ; in his mihi necesse est esse, ne amicis molestus sim. Quod autem in maritimis facillime sum, moveo nonnullis suspicionem 20 velle me navigare ; quod tamen fortasse non nollem, si possem ad otium ; nam ad bellum quidem qui convenit ? praesertim contra eum, cui spero me satis fecisse, ab eo, cui iam satis fieri nullo modo potest. (3) Deinde sententiam meam tu facillime perspicere potuisti iam ab illo 25 tempore, cum in Cumanum mihi obviam venisti. Non enim te celavi sermonem T. Ampii ; vidisti, quam abhorrerem ab urbe relinquenda, cum audissem ; nonne tibi adfirmavi quidvis me potius perpessurum quam ex Italia ad bellum civile exiturum ? Quid ergo accidit cur con-30 silium mutarem ? nonne omnia potius, ut in sententia permanerem ? Credas hoc mihi velim, quod puto te exis-

timare, me ex his miseriis nihil aliud quaerere, nisi ut homines aliquando intellegant me nihil maluisse quam pacem, ea desperata nihil tam fugisse quam arma civilia. Huius me constantiae puto fore ut numquam paeniteat.

5 Etenim memini in hoc genere gloriari solitum esse familiarem nostrum Q. Hortensium, quod numquam bello civili interfuisset; hoc nostra laus erit inlustrior, quod illi tribuebatur ignaviae, de nobis id existimari posse non arbitror. (4) Nec me ista terrent, quae mihi a te ad

10 timorem fidissime atque amantissime proponuntur. Nulla est enim acerbitas, quae non omnibus hac orbis terrarum perturbatione impendere videatur; quam quidem ego a re publica meis privatis et domesticis incommodis libentissime vel istis ipsis, quae tu me mones ut caveam, rede-

15 missem. (5) Filio meo, quem tibi carum esse gaudeo, si erit ulla res publica, satis amplum patrimonium relinquam in memoria nominis mei; sin autem nulla erit, nihil accidet ei separatim a reliquis civibus. Nam quod rogas, ut respiciam generum meum, adulescentem optimum

20 mihique carissimum, an dubitas, qui scias, quanti cum illum tum vero Tulliam meam faciam, quin ea me cura vehementissime sollicitet, et eo magis, quod in communibus miseriis hac tamen oblectabar specula, Dolabellam meum, vel potius nostrum, fore ab iis molestiis, quas liberalitate

25 sua contraxerat, liberum? Velim quaeras, quos ille dies sustinuerit, in urbe dum fuit, quam acerbos sibi, quam mihimet ipsi socero non honestos. (6) Itaque neque ego hunc Hispaniensem casum exspecto, de quo mihi exploratum est ita esse, ut tu scribis, neque quicquam as-

30 tute cogito. Si quando erit civitas, erit profecto nobis locus; sin autem non erit, in easdem solitudines tu ipse, ut arbitror, venies, in quibus nos consedisse audies. Sed

ego fortasse vaticinor, et haec omnia meliores habebunt exitus. Recordor enim desperationem eorum, qui senes erant adulescente me. Eos ego fortasse nunc imitor et utor aetatis vitio. Velim ita sit; sed tamen —

(7) Togam praetextam texi Oppio puto te audisse; nam 5 Curtius noster dibaphum cogitat, sed eum infector moratur. Hoc aspersi, ut scires me tamen in stomacho solere ridere. De Dolabella quod scripsi, suadeo videas, tamquam si tua res agatur. Extremum illud erit: nos nihil turbulenter, nihil temere faciemus; te tamen oramus 10 quibuscumque erimus in terris, ut nos liberosque nostros ita tueare, ut amicitia nostra et tua fides postulabit.

XCIV. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S.P. (CAIETA,
JUNE 7, 49)

Omnis molestias et sollicitudines, quibus et te miserimam habui, id quod mihi molestissimum est, et Tulliolam, quae nobis nostra vita dulcior est, deposui et eieci. 15 Quid causae autem fuerit, postridie intellexi, quam a vobis discessi. *Χολὴν ἄκρατον* noctu eieci; statim ita sum levatus, ut mihi deus aliquis medicinam fecisse videatur; cui quidem tu deo, quem ad modum soles, pie et caste satisfacies. (2) Navem spero nos valde bonam habere. In 20 eam simulatque conscendi, haec scripsi. Deinde conscribam ad nostros familiaris multas epistulas, quibus te et Tulliolam nostram diligentissime commendabo. Cohortarer vos, quo animo fortiores essetis, nisi vos fortiores cognossem quam quemquam virum. Et tamen eius modi 25 spero negotia esse, ut et vos istic commodissime sperem esse et me aliquando cum similibus nostri rem p. defensores. (3) Tu primum valetudinem tuam velim cures; deinde, si tibi videbitur, villis iis utere, quae longissime

aberunt a militibus. Fundo Arpinati bene poteris uti cum familia urbana, si annona carior fuerit. Cicero bellissimus tibi salutem plurimam dicit. Etiam atque etiam vale. D. VII Idus Iun.

XCV. DOLABELLA S.D. CICERONI. (FROM CAESAR'S CAMP, JUNE 48)

5 S. v. g. v. et Tullia nostra recte v. Terentia minus belle habuit, sed certum scio iam convaluisse eam; praeterea rectissime sunt apud te omnia. Etsi nullo tempore in suspicionem tibi debui venire partium causa potius quam tua tibi suadere, ut te aut cum Caesare nobiscumque con-
10 iungeres aut certe in otium referres, praecipue nunc iam inclinata victoria ne possum quidem in ullam aliam incidere opinionem nisi in eam, in qua scilicet tibi suadere videar, quod pie tacere non possim. Tu autem, mi Cicero, sic haec accipies, ut, sive probabuntur tibi sive non
15 probabuntur, ab optimo certe animo ac deditissimo tibi et cogitata et scripta esse iudices. (2) Animadvertis Cn. Pompeium nec nominis sui nec rerum gestarum gloria neque etiam regum ac nationum clientelis quas ostentare crebro solebat, esse tutum, et hoc etiam, quod infimo
20 cuique contigit, illi non posse contingere, ut honeste effugere possit pulso Italia, amissis Hispaniis, capto exercitu veterano, circumvallato nunc denique, quod nescio an nulli umquam nostro acciderit imperatori. Quam ob rem, quid aut ille sperare possit, aut tu, animum adverte pro
25 tua prudentia; sic enim facillime, quod tibi utilissimum erit consilii, capies. Illud autem a te peto, ut, si iam ille evitaverit hoc periculum et se abdiderit in classem, tu tuis rebus consulas, et aliquando tibi potius quam cuivis sis amicus. Satis factum est iam a te vel officio vel familiari-

tati, satis factum etiam partibus et ei rei p., quam tu probabas; (3) reliquum est, ubi nunc est res p., ibi simus potius quam, dum illam veterem sequamur, simus in nulla. Quare velim, mi iucundissime Cicero, si forte Pompeius pulsus his quoque locis rusus alias regiones petere 5 cogatur, ut tu te vel Athenas vel in quamvis quietam recipias civitatem. Quod si eris factururus, velim mihi scribas, ut ego, si ullo modo potero, ad te advolem. Quaecumque de tua dignitate ab imperatore erunt impetranda, qua est humanitate Caesar, facillimum erit ab eo tibi ipsi 10 impetrare, et meas tamen preces apud eum non minimum auctoritatis habituras puto. Erit tuae quoque fidei et humanitatis curare, ut is tabellarius, quem ad te misi, reverti possit ad me et a te mihi litteras referat.

XCVI. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S.D. (BRUNDISIUM, NOVEMBER 4, 48)

Quod nos in Italiam salvos venisse gaudes, perpetuo 15 gaudeas velim; sed perturbati dolore animi magnisque iniuriis metuo ne id consilii ceperimus, quod non facile explicare possimus. Quare, quantum potes, adiuva; quid autem possis, mihi in mentem non venit. In viam quod te des hoc tempore, nihil est. Et longum est iter et non 20 tutum, et non video, quid prodesse possis, si veneris. Vale. D. pr. Non. Nov. Brundisio.

XCVII. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S.P. (BRUNDISIUM, DECEMBER 17, 48)

Ad ceteras meas miserias accessit dolor et de Dolabellae valetudine et de Tulliae. Omnino de omnibus rebus nec quid consilii capiam nec quid faciam scio. Tu velim tuam 25 et Tulliae valetudinem cures. Vale.

XCVIII. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S.D. (BRUNDISIUM, ABOUT DECEMBER 21, 48)

S. v. b. e. v. Si quid haberem, quod ad te scriberem, facerem id et pluribus verbis et saepius. Nunc, quae sint negotia vides; ego autem quo modo sim adfectus, ex Lepta et Trebatio poteris cognoscere. Tu fac, ut tuam et
5 Tulliae valetudinem cures. Vale.

XCIX. TULLIUS S.D. TERENTIAE SUAE. (BRUNDISIUM, JUNE 15, 47)

S. v. b. e. v. Tullia nostra venit ad me pr. Idus Iun. Cuius summa virtute et singulari humanitate graviore etiam sum dolore adfectus nostra factum esse neglegentia, ut longe alia in fortuna esset atque eius pietas ac dignitas
10 postulabat. Nobis erat in animo Ciceronem ad Caesarem mittere et cum eo Cn. Sallustium. Si profectus erit, faciam te certiores. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. XVII K. Quinctiles.

C. TULLIUS S.D. TERENTIAE. (BRUNDISIUM, JUNE 20, 47)

Si vales, benest. Constitueramus, ut ad te antea scrip-
15 seram, obviam Ciceronem Caesari mittere, sed mutavimus consilium, quia de illius adventu nihil audiebamus. De ceteris rebus, etsi nihil erat novi, tamen, quid velimus et quid hoc tempore putemus opus esse, ex Sicca poteris cognoscere. Tulliam adhuc mecum teneo. Vale-
20 tudinem cura diligenter. Vale. XII K. Quinctiles.

CI. TULLIUS S.D. TERENTIAE SUAE. (BRUNDISIUM,
JULY 9, 47)

Quid fieri placeret, scripsi ad Pomponium serius quam oportuit. Cum eo si locuta eris, intelleges, quid fieri velim; apertius scribi, quoniam ad illum scripseram, necesse non fuit. De ea re et de ceteris rebus quam primum velim nobis litteras mittas. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. VII Idus Quinctiles.

CII. TULLIUS S.D. TERENTIAE SUAE. (VENUSIA,
OCTOBER 1, 47)

In Tusculanum nos venturos putamus aut Nonis aut postridie. Ibi ut sint omnia parata — plures enim fortasse nobiscum erunt et, ut arbitror, diutius ibi commorabimur —; labrum si in balineo non est, ut sit, item cetera, quae sunt ad victum et ad valetudinem necessaria. Vale. K. Oct. de Venusino.

CIII. CICERO M. VARRONI S. (ROME, END OF 47 OR
BEGINNING OF 46)

Ex iis litteris, quas Atticus a te missas mihi legit, quid ageres et ubi esses cognovi; quando autem te visuri essemus, nihil sane ex iisdem litteris potui suspicari; in spem tamen venio adpropinquare tuum adventum; qui mihi utinam solacio sit! etsi tot tantisque rebus urgemur, ut nullam adlevationem quisquam non stultissimus sperare debeat; sed tamen aut tu potes me aut ego te fortasse aliqua re iuvare. (2) Scito enim me, posteaquam in urbem venerim, redisse cum veteribus amicis, id est cum libris nostris, in gratiam; etsi non idcirco eorum usum dimiseram, quod iis suscenserem, sed quod eorum me sub-

pudebat; videbar enim mihi, cum me in res turbulentissimas infidelissimis sociis demissem, praeceptis illorum non satis paruisse. Ignoscunt mihi, revocant in consuetudinem pristinam teque, quod in eo permanseris, sapientior⁵em quam me dicunt fuisse. Quam ob rem, quoniam placatis iis utor, videor sperare debere, si te viderim, et ea, quae premant, et ea, quae impendeant, me facile laturum. Quam ob rem, sive in Tusculano sive in Cumano ad te placebit sive, quod minime velim, Romae, dum¹⁰ modo simul simus, perficiam profecto, ut id utrique nostrum commodissimum esse videatur.

CIV. CICERO BRUTO S. (ROME, EARLY IN 46)

Quia semper animadverti studiosè te operam dare, ut ne quid meorum tibi esset ignotum, propterea non dubito, quin scias non solum cuius municipii sim, sed etiam quam¹⁵ diligenter soleam meos municipes Arpinatis tueri. Quorum quidem omnia commoda omnesque facultates, quibus et sacra conficere et sarta tecta aedium sacrarum locorumque communium tueri possint, consistunt in iis vectigalibus, quae habent in provincia Gallia. Ad ea visenda pecunias²⁰que, quae a colonis debentur, exigendas totamque rem et cognoscendam et administrandam legatos equites Romanos misimus, Q. Fufidium Q. f., M. Faucium M. f., Q. Mamercium Q. f. (2) Peto a te in maiorem modum pro nostra necessitudine, ut tibi ea res curae sit operamque des,²⁵ ut per te quam commodissime negotium municipii administretur quam primumque conficiatur, ipsosque, quorum nomina scripsi, ut quam honorificentissime pro tua natura et quam liberalissime tractes. (3) Bonos viros ad tuam necessitudinem adiunxeris municipiumque gratissimum³⁰ beneficio tuo devinxeris, mihi vero etiam gratius feceris,

quod cum semper tueri municipales meos consuevi, tum hic annus praecipue ad meam curam officiumque pertinet. Nam constituendi municipii causa hoc anno aedilem filium meum fieri volui et fratris filium et M. Caesium, hominem mihi maxime necessarium; is enim magistratus in nostro 5 municipio nec alius ullus creari solet. Quos cohonestaris in primisque me, si res p. municipii tuo studio, diligentia bene administrata erit. Quod ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

CV. CICERO VARRONI. (ROME LATTER HALF OF
APRIL, 46)

Caninius tuus idem et idem noster cum ad me pervesperi 10 venisset et se postridie mane ad te iturum esse dixisset, dixi ei me daturum litterarum aliquid; mane ut peteret, rogavi. Conscripsi epistulam noctu; nec ille ad me rediit; oblitum credidi. Ac tamen eam ipsam tibi epistulam misissem per meos, nisi audissem ex eodem pos- 15 tridie te mane e Tusculano exiturum. At tibi repente paucis post diebus, cum minime exspectarem, venit ad me Caninius mane; proficisci ad te statim dixit. Etsi erat ἐωλός illa epistula, praesertim tantis postea novis rebus adlatis, tamen perire lucubrationem meam nolui et eam 20 ipsam Caninio dedi; sed cum eo ut cum homine docto et amantissimo tui locutus ea sum, quae pertulisse illum ad te existimo. (2) Tibi autem idem consilii do quod mihimet ipsi, ut vitemus oculos hominum, si linguas minus facile possimus; qui enim victoria se efferunt, quasi vic- 25 tos nos intuentur, qui autem victos nostros moleste ferunt, nos dolent vivere. Quaeres fortasse, cur, cum haec in urbe sint, non absim quem ad modum tu. Tu enim ipse, qui et me et alios prudentia vincis, omnia, credo, vidisti, nihil

te omnino fefellit. Quis est tam Lynceus, qui in tantis tenebris nihil offendat, nusquam incurrat? (3) Ac mihi quidem iam pridem venit in mentem bellum esse aliquo exire, ut ea quae agebantur hic, quaeque dicebantur, nec
5 viderem nec audirem. Sed calumniabar ipse; putabam, qui obviam mihi venisset, ut cuique commodum esset, suspicaturum aut dicturum, etiamsi non suspicaretur: 'Hic aut metuit et ea re fugit aut aliquid cogitat et habet navem paratam.' Denique, levissime qui suspicaretur,
10 et qui fortasse me optime novisset, putaret me idcirco discedere, quod quosdam homines oculi mei ferre non possent. Haec ego suspicans adhuc Romae maneo et tamen λεληθότως consuetudo diurna callum iam obduxit stomacho meo. Habes rationem mei consilii.
15 (4) Tibi igitur hoc censeo, latendum tantisper ibidem, dum effervescit haec gratulatio, et simul dum audiamus, quem ad modum negotium confectum sit; confectum enim esse existimo. Magni autem interest, qui fuerit victoris animus, qui exitus rerum; quamquam, quo me
20 coniectura ducat, habeo, sed exspecto tamen. (5) Te vero nolo, nisi ipse rumor iam raucus erit factus, ad Baias venire; erit enim nobis honestius, etiam cum hinc discesserimus, videri venisse in illa loca ploratum potius quam natatum. Sed haec tu melius; modo nobis stet
25 illud, una vivere in studiis nostris, a quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus, nunc vero etiam salutem; non deesse, si quis adhibere volet, non modo ut architectos, verum etiam ut fabros ad aedificandam rem publicam et potius libenter accurrere; si nemo utetur opera,
30 tamen et scribere et legere πολιτείας et, si minus in curia atque in foro, at in litteris et libris, ut doctissimi veteres fecerunt, †gravare rem p. et de moribus ac legibus quaerere.

Mihi haec videntur ; tu quid sis acturus, et quid tibi placeat, pergratum erit, si ad me scripseris.

CVI. CICERO VARRONI. (ROME, BETWEEN JULY 21
AND 26, 46)

Caninius noster me tuis verbis admonuit, ut scriberem ad te, si quid esset, quod putarem te scire oportere. Est igitur adventus Caesaris scilicet in exspectatione, neque 5 tu id ignoras. Sed tamen, cum ille scripsisset, ut opinor, se in Alsiense venturum, scripserunt ad eum sui, ne id faceret ; multos ei molestos fore ipsumque multis ; Ostiae videri commodius eum exire posse. Id ego non intellegebam quid interesset ; sed tamen Hirtius mihi dixit 10 et se ad eum et Balbum et Oppium scripsisse, ut ita faceret, homines, ut cognovi, amantes tui. (2) Hoc ego idcirco nosse te volui, ut scires, hospitium tibi ubi parares, vel potius ut utrobique — quid enim ille facturum sit, incertum est — et simul ostentavi tibi me istis esse familiarem 15 et consiliis eorum interesse. Quod ego cur nolim, nihil video ; non enim est idem ferre, si quid ferendum est, et probare, si quid non probandum est. Etsi, quid non probem, equidem iam nescio, praeter initia rerum ; nam haec in voluntate fuerunt. Vidi enim — nam tu aberas 20 — nostros amicos cupere bellum, hunc autem non tam cupere quam non timere — ergo haec consilii fuerunt, reliqua necessaria — vincere autem aut hos aut illos necesse esse. (3) Scio te semper mecum in luctu fuisse, cum videremus cum illud ingens malum, alterius utrius exer- 25 citus et ducum interitum, tum vero extremum malorum omnium esse civilis belli victoriam ; quam quidem ego etiam illorum timebam, ad quos veneramus ; crudeliter

enim otiosis minabantur, eratque iis et tua invisā voluntas et mea oratio; nunc vero, si essent nostri potiti, valde intemperantes fuissent, erant enim nobis perirati; quasi quicquam de nostra salute decrevissemus, quod non idem
5 illis censuissemus, aut quasi utilius rei p. fuerit eos etiam ad bestiarum auxilium confugere quam vel emori vel cum spe, si non optima, at aliqua tamen vivere. (4) At in perturbata re publica vivimus. Quis negat? sed hoc viderint ii, qui nulla sibi subsidia ad omnis vitae status
10 paraverunt; huc enim ut venirem, superior, longius quam volui, fluxit oratio. Cum enim te semper magnum hominem duxi, tum quod his tempestatibus es prope solus in portu fructusque doctrinae percipis eos, qui maximi sunt, ut ea consideres eaque tractes, quorum et usus et delectatio est omnibus istorum et actis et voluptatibus anteponenda. Equidem hos tuos Tusculanensis dies instar
esse vitae puto libenterque omnibus omnis opes concesserim, ut mihi liceat vi nulla interpellante isto modo vivere; quod nos quoque imitamur, ut possumus, et in nostris
20 studiis libentissime conquiescimus. (5) Quis enim hoc non dederit nobis, ut, cum opera nostra patria sive non possit uti sive nolit, ad eam vitam revertamur, quam multi docti homines fortasse non recte, sed tamen multi etiam rei p. praeponendam putaverunt? Quae igitur
25 studia magnorum hominum sententia vacationem habent quandam publici muneris, iis concedente re p. cur non abutamur? (6) Sed plus facio quam Caninius mandavit, scriberem enim, si quid ego scirem, rogarat, quod tu nescires, ego tibi ea narro quae tu melius scis quam ipse,
30 qui narro. Faciam ergo illud quod rogatus sum, ut eorum, quae temporis huius sint, quae tua audiero, ne quid ignores.

CVII. CICERO PAETO S. (TUSCULUM, FIRST HALF OF JULY, 46)

Delectarunt me tuae litterae, in quibus primum amavi amorem tuum qui te ad scribendum incitavit verentem, ne Silius suo nuntio aliquid mihi sollicitudinis attulisset; de quo et tu mihi antea scripseras bis quidem eodem exemplo, facile ut intellegerem te esse commotum, et ego tibi accurate rescripseram, ut quo modo in tali re atque tempore aut liberarem te ista cura aut certe levarem. (2) Sed, quoniam proxime quoque litteris ostendis quantae tibi curae sit ea res, sic, mi Paete, habeto, quicquid arte fieri potuerit — non enim iam satis est consilio pugnare; artificium quoddam excogitandum est — sed tamen, quicquid elaborari aut effici potuerit ad istorum benevolentiam conciliandam et colligendam, summo studio me consecutum esse, nec frustra, ut arbitror; sic enim color, sic observor ab omnibus iis qui a Caesare diliguntur, ut ab iis me amari putem. Tametsi non facile diiudicatur amor verus et fictus, nisi aliquod incidit eius modi tempus, ut quasi aurum igni, sic benevolentia fidelis periculo aliquo perspicui possit; cetera sunt signa communia, sed ego uno utor argumento, quam ob rem me ex animo vereque arbitrer diligere, quia et nostra fortuna ea est et illorum, ut simulandi causa non sit. (3) De illo autem, quem penes est omnis potestas, nihil video quod timeam, nisi quod omnia sunt incerta, cum a iure discessum est, nec praestari quicquam potest quale futurum sit, quod positum est in alterius voluntate, ne dicam libidine. Sed tamen eius ipsius nulla re a me offensus est animus; est enim adhibita in ea re ipsa summa a nobis moderatio. Ut enim olim arbitrabar esse meum libere loqui, cuius opera esset in civitate libertas, sic ea nunc amissa nihil loqui quod offendat aut illius aut eorum,

qui ab illo diliguntur, voluntatem. Effugere autem si velim non nullorum acute aut facete dictorum opinionem, fama ingenii mihi sit abicienda; quod si possem, non recusarem. (4) Sed tamen ipse Caesar habet peracrie iudicium, et, ut Servius, frater tuus, quem litteratissimum fuisse iudico, facile diceret: 'Hic versus Plauti non est, hic est,' quod tritas auris haberet notandis generibus poetarum et consuetudine legendi, sic audio Caesarem, cum volumina iam confecerit ἀποφθεγμάτων, si quod adferatur ad eum pro meo, quod meum non sit, reicere solere; quod eo nunc magis facit, quia vivunt mecum fere cotidie illius familiares. Incidunt autem in sermone vario multa, quae fortasse illis, cum dixi, nec inlitterata nec insulsa esse videantur; haec ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur; ita enim ipse mandavit. Sic fit ut, si quid praeterea de me audiat, non audiendum putet. Quam ob rem Oenomao tuo nihil utor; etsi posuisti loco versus Accianos. (5) Sed quae est 'invidia,' aut quid mihi nunc invideri potest? Verum fac esse omnia; sic video philosophis placuisse iis, qui mihi soli videntur vim virtutis tenere, nihil esse sapientis praestare nisi culpam. Qua mihi videor dupliciter carere, et quod ea senserim, quae rectissima fuerunt, et quod, cum viderem praesidii non satis esse ad ea obtinenda, viribus certandum cum valentioribus non putarim. Ergo in officio boni civis certe non sum reprehendendus. Reliquum est, ne quid stulte, ne quid temere dicam aut faciam contra potentes. Id quoque puto esse sapientis. Cetera vero, quid quisque me dixisse dicat, aut quo modo ille accipiat, aut qua fide mecum vivant ii qui me assidue colunt et observant, praestare non possum. (6) Ita fit ut et consiliorum superiorum conscientia et praesentis temporis moderatione me consoler et illam Acci similitudinem

non iam ad 'invidiam' sed ad fortunam transferam, quam existimo levem et imbecillam ab animo firmo et gravi 'tamquam fluctum a saxo frangi' oportere. Etenim cum plena sint monumenta Graecorum, quem ad modum sapientissimi viri regna tulerint vel Athenis vel Syracusis, 5 cum servientibus suis civitatibus fuerint ipsi quodam modo liberi, ego me non putem tueri meum statum sic posse, ut neque offendam animum cuiusquam nec frangam dignitatem meam?

(7) Nunc venio ad iocationes tuas, quoniam tu secundum 10 Oenomaum Acci non, ut olim solebat, Atellanam, sed ut nunc fit, mimum introduxisti. Quem tu mihi popellum, quem thynnarium narras, quam tyrotarichi patinam? Facilitate mea ista ferebantur antea; nunc mutata res est. Hirtium ego et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, 15 cenandi magistros; puto enim te audisse, si forte ad vos omnia perferuntur, illos apud me declamitare, me apud illos cenitare. Tu autem quod mihi bonam copiam eiures, nihil est; tum enim, cum rem habebas, quaesticulis te faciebat attentiores, nunc cum tam aequo animo bona 20 perdas, non est quod eo sis consilio ut, cum me hospitio recipias, aestimationem te aliquam putes accipere; etiam haec levior est plaga ab amico quam a debitore. (8) Nec tamen eas cenas quaero, ut magnae reliquiae fiant; quod erit, magnificum sit et lautum. Memini te mihi Phameae 25 cenam narrare. Temperius fiat, cetera eodem modo. Quodsi perseveras me ad matris tuae cenam revocare, feram id quoque; volo enim videre animum, qui mihi audeat ista quae scribis apponere aut etiam polypum miniati Iovis similem. Mihi crede, non audebis; ante meum 30 adventum fama ad te de mea nova lautitia veniet; eam tu extimesces. Neque est quod in promulside spei ponas

aliquid ; quam totam sustuli ; solebam enim antea debilitari oleis et lucanicis tuis. Sed quid haec loquimur ? liceat modo isto venire. Tu vero — volo enim abstergere animi tui metum — ad tyrotarichum antiquum redi. Ego
5 tibi unum sumptum adferam, quod balneum calfacias oportebit ; cetera more nostro. (10) Superiora illa lusi-
mus. De villa Seliciana et curasti diligenter et scripsisti facetissime ; itaque puto me praetermissurum ; salis enim satis est, sannionum parum.

CVIII. CICERO LIGARIO. (ROME, BEGINNING OF
AUGUST, 46)

10 Etsi tali tuo tempore me aut consolandi aut iuvandi tui causa scribere ad te aliquid pro nostra amicitia oportebat, tamen adhuc id non feceram, quia nec lenire videbar oratione neque levare posse dolorem tuum. Postea vero quam magnam spem habere coepi fore, ut te brevi tem-
15 pore incolumem haberemus, facere non potui, quin tibi et sententiam et voluntatem declararem meam. (2) Primum igitur scribam, quod intellego et perspicio, non fore in te Caesarem duriores ; nam et res eum cotidie et dies et opinio hominum, et, ut mihi videtur, etiam sua natura
20 mitiorem facit ; idque cum de reliquis sentio tum de te etiam audio ex familiarissimis eius. Quibus ego ex eo tempore, quo primum ex Africa nuntius venit, supplicare una cum fratribus tuis non destiti ; quorum quidem et virtute et pietate et amore in te singulari et assidua et per-
25 petua cura salutis tuae tantum proficitur, ut nihil sit, quod non ipsum Caesarem tributurum existimem. (3) Sed, si tardius fit, quam volumus, magnis occupationibus eius, a quo omnia petuntur, aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt, et simul Africanæ causæ iratior diutius velle videtur eos

habere sollicitos, a quibus se putat diuturnioribus esse molestiis conflictatum. Sed hoc ipsum intellegimus eum cotidie remissius et placatius ferre. Quare mihi crede et memoriae manda me tibi id affirmasse, te in istis molestiis diutius non futurum. 5

(4) Quoniam, quid sentirem, exposui, quid velim tua causa, re potius declarabo quam oratione. Si tantum possem, quantum in ea re p., de qua ita sum meritus, ut tu existimas, posse debebam, ne tu quidem in istis incommodis esses ; eadem enim causa opes meas fregit, quae tuam salu- 10 tem in discrimen adduxit. Sed tamen, quicquid imago veteris meae dignitatis, quicquid reliquiae gratiae valebunt, studium, consilium, opera, gratia, fides mea, nullo loco deerit tuis optimis fratribus. (5) Tu fac habeas fortem animum, quem semper habuisti, primum ob eas 15 causas, quas scripsi, deinde quod ea de re p. semper voluisti atque sensisti, ut non modo nunc secunda sperare debeas, sed etiam, si omnia adversa essent, tamen conscientia et factorum et consiliorum tuorum, quaecumque acciderent, fortissimo et maximo animo ferre deberes. 20

CIX. CICERO PAETO. (ROME, BEGINNING OF AUGUST, 46)

Dupliciter delectatus sum tuis litteris, et quod ipse risi et quod te intellexi iam posse ridere ; me autem a te ut scurram velitem malis oneratum esse non moleste tuli ; illud doleo, in ista loca venire me, ut constitueram, non potuisse ; habuisses enim non hospitem sed contubernalem. 25 At quem virum ! non eum quem tu es solitus promulside conficere ; integram famem ad ovum adfero, itaque usque ad assum vitulinum opera perducitur. Illa mea quae solebas antea laudare, 'O hominem facilem ! o hospitem non gravem !' abierunt ; nam omnem nostram de re p. curam, 30

cogitationem de dicenda in senatu sententia, commentationem causarum abieciimus, in Epicuri nos, adversarii nostri, castra coieciimus, nec tamen ad hanc insolentiam, sed ad illam tuam lautitiam, veterem dico, cum in sumptum habebas; etsi numquam plura praedia habuisti. (2) Proinde te para; cum homine et edaci tibi res est, et qui iam intellegat — ὀψιμαθεὶς autem homines scis quam insolentes sint —; dediscendae tibi sunt sportellae et arto-
lagani tui. Nos iam artis tantum habemus, ut Verrium
10 tuum et Camillum — qua munditia homines, qua elegantia! — vocare saepius audeamus. Sed vide audaciam: etiam Hirtio cenam dedi, sine pavone tamen. In ea cena cocus meus praeter ius fervens nihil non potuit imitari. (3) Haec igitur est nunc vita nostra; mane salutamus
15 domi et bonos viros multos, sed tristis, et hos laetos victores, qui me quidem perofficiose et peramanter observant. Ubi salutatio defluxit, litteris me involvo, aut scribo aut lego; veniunt etiam, qui me audiunt quasi doctum hominem, quia paulo sum quam ipsi doctior. Inde corpori
20 omne tempus datur. Patriam eluxi iam et gravius et diutius quam ulla mater unicum filium. Sed cura, si me amas, ut valeas, ne ego te iacente bona tua comedim; statui enim tibi ne aegroto quidem parcere.

CX. CICERO PAETO. (ROME, AFTER AUGUST 5, 46)

Non tu homo ridiculus es, qui, cum Balbus noster apud
25 te fuerit, ex me quaeras, quid de istis municipiis et agris futurum putem? quasi aut ego quicquam sciam, quod iste nesciat, aut, si quid aliquando scio, non ex isto soleam scire. Immo vero, si me amas, tu fac ut sciam, quid de nobis futurum sit; habuisti enim in tua potestate, ex quo vel

sobrio, vel certe ex ebrio, scire posses. Sed ego ista, mi Paete, non quaero, primum quia de lucro prope iam quadriennium vivimus, si aut hoc lucrum est aut haec vita, superstitem rei p. vivere; deinde quod scire quoque mihi videor, quid futurum sit. Fiet enim, quodcum-⁵que volent qui valebunt; valebunt autem semper arma. Satis igitur nobis esse debet quicquid conceditur. Hoc si qui pati non potuit, mori debuit.

(2) Veientem quidem agrum et Capenatem metiuntur; hoc non longe abest a Tusculano; nihil tamen timeo.¹⁰ Fruor, dum licet, opto ut semper liceat; si id minus contigerit, tamen, quoniam ego vir fortis idemque philosophus vivere pulcherrimum duxi, non possum eum non diligere, cuius beneficio id consecutus sum. Qui si cupiat esse rem p., qualem fortasse et ille vult et omnes optare debemus,¹⁵ quid faciat, tamen non habet; ita se cum multis conligavit.

(3) Sed longius progredior; scribo enim ad te. Hoc tamen scito, non modo me, qui consiliis non intersum, sed ne ipsum quidem principem scire, quid futurum sit; nos enim illi servimus, ipse temporibus. Ita nec ille, quid²⁰ tempora postulatura sint, nec nos, quid ille cogitet, scire possumus.

(4) Haec tibi antea non rescripsi, non quo cessator esse solerem, praesertim in litteris, sed cum explorati nihil haberem, nec tibi sollicitudinem ex dubitatione mea nec²⁵ spem ex adfirmatione adferre volui. Illud tamen adscribam, quod est verissimum, me his temporibus adhuc de isto periculo nihil audisse. Tu tamen pro tua sapientia debebis optare optima, cogitare difficillima, ferre, quaecumque erunt.

CXI. M. CICERO S.D. M. MARIO. (ROME, SHORTLY
BEFORE SEPTEMBER 1, 46)

Persaepe mihi cogitanti de communibus miseriis, in quibus tot annos versamur et, ut video, versabimur, solet in mentem venire illius temporis, quo proxime fuimus una; quin etiam ipsum diem memoria teneo; nam a. d. IIII
5 Id. Mai. Lentulo et Marcello cos., cum in Pompeianum vesperi venissem, tu mihi sollicito animo praesto fuisti. Sollicitum autem te habebat cogitatio cum officii tum etiam periculi mei. Si manerem in Italia, verebaret, ne officio dessem; si proficiscerer ad bellum, periculum te meum
10 commovebat. Quo tempore vidisti profecto me quoque ita conturbatum, ut non explicarem, quid esset optimum factu. Pudori tamen malui famaeque cedere quam salutis meae rationem ducere. (2) Cuius me mei facti paenituit non tam propter periculum meum quam propter vitia
15 multa, quae ibi offendi, quo veneram, primum neque magnas copias neque bellicosas; deinde extra ducem paucosque praeterea — de principibus loquor — reliqui primum in ipso bello rapaces, deinde in oratione ita crudeles, ut ipsam victoriam horrerem; maximum autem
20 aes alienum amplissimorum virorum. Quid quaeris? nihil boni praeter causam. Quae cum vidissem, desperans victoriam primum coepi suadere pacem, cuius fueram semper auctor; deinde, cum ab ea sententia Pompeius valde abhorreret, suadere institui, ut bellum duceret. Hoc
25 interdum probabat et in ea sententia videbatur fore et fuisset fortasse, nisi quadam ex pugna coepisset suis militibus confidere. Ex eo tempore vir ille summus nullus imperator fuit. Signa tirone et collecticio exercitu cum legionibus robustissimis contulit; victus turpissime amissis
30 etiam castris solus fugit. (3) Hunc ego mihi belli finem

feci nec putavi, cum integri pares non fuisset, fractos superiores fore ; discessi ab eo bello, in quo aut in acie cadendum fuit aut in aliquas insidias incidendum aut deveniendum in victoris manus aut ad Iubam confugiendum aut capiendus tamquam exilio locus aut consciscenda mors voluntaria. Certe nihil fuit praeterea, si te victori nolles aut non auderes committere. Ex omnibus autem iis, quae dixi, incommodis nihil tolerabilius exilio, praesertim innocenti, ubi nulla adiuncta turpitudine, addo etiam : cum ea urbe careas, in qua nihil sit, quod videre possis sine dolore. Ego cum meis, si quicquam nunc cuiusquam est, etiam in meis esse malui. Quae acciderunt, omnia dixi futura. (4) Veni domum, non quo optima vivendi condicio esset, sed tamen, si esset aliqua forma rei p., tamquam in patria ut essem, si nulla, tamquam in exilio. Mortem mihi cur consciscerem, causa non visast, cur optarem, multae causae. Vetus est enim, *ubi non sis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis vivere*. Sed tamen vacare culpa magnum est solacium, praesertim cum habeam duas res, quibus me sustentem, optimarum artium scientiam et maximarum rerum gloriam ; quarum altera mihi vivo numquam eripietur, altera ne mortuo quidem.

(5) Haec ad te scripsi verbosius et tibi molestus fui, quod te cum mei tum rei p. cognovi amantissimum. Notum tibi omne meum consilium volui, ut primum scires me numquam voluisse plus quemquam posse quam universam rem p., postea autem quam alicuius culpa tantum valeret unus, ut obsisti non posset, me voluisse pacem ; amisso exercitu et eo duce, in quo spes fuerat uno, me voluisse etiam reliquis omnibus, postquam non potuerim, mihi ipsi finem fecisse belli ; nunc autem, si haec civitas est, civem esse me, si non, exulem esse non

incommodiore loco, quam si Rhodum aut Mytilenas me contulissem.

(6) Haec tecum coram malueram ; sed, quia longius fiebat, volui per litteras eadem, ut haberes, quid diceres, si
5 quando in vituperatores meos incidisses. Sunt enim, qui, cum meus interitus nihil fuerit rei p. profuturus, criminis loco putent esse, quod vivam ; quibus ego certo scio non videri satis multos perisse. Qui si me audissent, quamvis iniqua pace, honeste tamen viverent ; armis enim inferi-
10 ores, non causa fuissent.

Habes epistulam verbosiolem fortasse quam velles ; quod tibi ita videri putabo, nisi mihi longiorem remiseris. Ego si, quae volo, expediero, brevi tempore te, ut spero, videbo.

CXII. M. CICERO S.D. P. FIGULO. (ROME, BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER, 46)

15 Quaerenti mihi iam diu, quid ad te potissimum scriberem, non modo certa res nulla, sed ne genus quidem litterarum usitatum veniebat in mentem. Unam enim partem et consuetudinem earum epistularum, quibus secundis rebus uti solebamus, tempus eripuerat, perfec-
20 ratque fortuna, ne quid tale scribere possem aut omnino cogitare. Relinquebatur triste quoddam et miserum et his temporibus consentaneum genus litterarum. Id quoque deficiebat me, in quo debebat esse aut promissio auxilii alicuius aut consolatio doloris tui. Quod pollicerer, non
25 erat ; ipse enim pari fortuna afflictus aliorum opibus casus meos sustentabam, saepiusque mihi veniebat in mentem queri quod ita viverem, quam gaudere, quod viverem. (2) Quamquam enim nulla me ipsum privatim pepulit insignis iniuria, nec mihi quicquam tali tempore in

mentem venit optare, quod non ultro mihi Caesar detulerit, tamen non nihil eis conficior curis, ut ipsum, quod maneam in vita, peccare me existimem. Careo enim cum familiarissimis multis, quos aut mors eripuit nobis aut distraxit fuga, tum omnibus amicis, quorum benevolentiam nobis 5 conciliarat per me quondam te socio defensa res publica, versorque in eorum naufragiis et bonorum direptionibus nec audio solum, quod ipsum esset miserum, sed etiam id ipsum video, quo nihil est acerbius, eorum fortunas dissipari, quibus nos olim adiutoribus illud incendium ex- 10 stinximus, et, in qua urbe modo gratia, auctoritate, gloria floruimus, in ea nunc his quidem omnibus caremus; optinemus ipsius Caesaris summam erga nos humanitatem, sed ea plus non potest quam vis et mutatio omnium rerum atque temporum. (3) Itaque orbus iis rebus omnibus, 15 quibus et natura me et voluntas et consuetudo adsuefecerat, cum ceteris, ut quidem videor, tum mihi ipse displiceo. Natus enim ad agendum semper aliquid dignum viro nunc non modo agendi rationem nullam habeo, sed ne cogitandi quidem et, qui antea aut obscuris hominibus 20 aut etiam sontibus opitulari poteram, nunc P. Nigidio, uni omnium doctissimo et sanctissimo et maxima quondam gratia et mihi certe amicissimo, ne benigne quidem polliceri possum. (4) Ergo hoc ereptum est litterarum genus; reliquum est, ut consoler et adferam rationes, quibus 25 te a molestiis coner abducere. At ea quidem facultas vel tui vel alterius consolandi in te summa est, si umquam in ullo fuit. Itaque eam partem, quae ab exquisita quadam ratione et doctrina proficiscitur, non attingam, tibi totam relinquam. Quid sit forti et sapienti homine dignum, quid 30 gravitas, quid altitudo animi, quid acta tua vita, quid studia, quid artes, quibus a pueritia floruisti, a te flagitent,

tu videbis ; ego, quod intellégere et sentire, quia sum Romae, et quia curo attendoque, possum, id tibi adfirmo, te in istis molestiis, in quibus es hoc tempore, non diutius futurum, in iis autem, in quibus etiam nos sumus, fortasse
5 semper fore.

(5) Videor mihi perspicere primum ipsius animum, qui plurimum potest, propensum ad salutem tuam. Non scribo hoc temere ; quo minus familiaris sum, hoc sum ad investigandum curiosior. Quo facilius, quibus est iratior,
10 respondere tristius possit, hoc est adhuc tardior ad te molestia liberandum ; familiares vero eius, et ii quidem, qui illi iucundissimi sunt, mirabiliter de te et locuntur et sentiunt. Accedit eodem vulgi voluntas vel potius consensus omnium. Etiam illa, quae minimum nunc quidem potest,
15 sed possit necessest, res publica, quascumque vires habebit, ab iis ipsis, a quibus tenetur, de te propediem, mihi crede, impetrabit.

(6) Redeo igitur ad id, ut iam tibi etiam pollicear aliquid, quod primo omiseram. Nam et complectar eius
20 familiarissimos, qui me admodum diligunt multumque mecum sunt, et in ipsius consuetudinem, quam adhuc meus pudor mihi clausit, insinuabo et certe omnis vias persequar quibus putabo ad id, quod volumus, perveniri posse. In hoc toto genere plura faciam, quam scribere
25 audeo. Cetera, quae tibi a multis prompta esse certo scio, a me sunt paratissima. Nihil in re familiari mea est, quod ego meum malim esse quam tuum. Hac de re et de hoc genere toto hoc scribo parcius, quod te id, quod ipse confido, sperare malo, te esse usurum tuis.

30 (7) Extremum illud est, ut te orem et obsecrem, animo ut maximo sis nec ea solum memineris, quae ab aliis magnis viris accepisti, sed illa etiam, quae ipse ingenio studioque

peperisti. Quae si colliges, et sperabis omnia optime et, quae accident, qualiacumque erunt, sapienter feres. Sed haec tu melius vel optime omnium; ego, quae pertinere ad te intellegam, studiosissime omnia diligentissimeque curabo tuorumque tristissimo meo tempore meritorum 5 erga me memoriam conservabo.

CXIII. M. CICERO S.D. M. MARCELLO. (ROME,
BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER, 46)

Neque monere te audeo, praestanti prudentia virum, nec confirmare, maximi animi hominem unumque fortissimum, consolari vero nullo modo. Nam si ea quae acciderunt, ita fers, ut audio, gratulari magis virtuti debeo 10 quam consolari dolorem tuum; sin te tanta mala rei publicae frangunt, non ita abundo ingenio, ut te consoler, cum ipse me non possim. Reliquum est igitur, ut tibi me in omni re eum praebeam praestemque et ad omnia, quae tui velint, ita sim praesto, ut me non solum omnia debere tua 15 causa, sed posse quoque etiam quae non possim putem. (2) Illud tamen vel tu me monuisse vel censuisse puta vel propter benevolentiam tacere non potuisse, ut, quod ego facio, tu quoque animum inducas, si sit aliqua res publica, in ea te esse oportere iudicio hominum reque prin- 20 cipem, necessitate cedentem tempori; sin autem nulla sit, hunc tamen aptissimum esse etiam ad exulandum locum. Si enim libertatem sequimur, qui locus hoc dominatu vacat? sin qualemcumque locum, quae est domestica sede iucundior? Sed, mihi crede, etiam is qui omnia tenet, favet 25 ingeniis, nobilitatem vero et dignitates hominum, quantum et res et ipsius causa concedit, amplectitur. Sed plura quam statueram. Redeo ergo ad unum illud, me tuum esse; fore cum tuis, si modo erunt tui, si minus, me certe

in omnibus rebus satis nostrae coniunctioni amorique facturum. Vale.

CXIV. M. CICERO S.D. M. MARCELLO. (ROME, LATTER
HALF OF SEPTEMBER, 46)

Etsi eo te adhuc consilio usum intellego, ut id reprehendere non audeam, non quin ab eo ipso dissentiam, sed
5 quod ea te sapientia esse iudicem, ut meum consilium non antepono tuo, tamen et amicitiae nostrae vetustas et tua summa erga me benevolentia, quae mihi iam a pueritia tua cognita est, me hortata est, ut ea scriberem ad te, quae et saluti tuae conducere arbitrarer et non aliena esse
10 ducerem a dignitate.

(2) Ego eum te esse, qui horum malorum initia multo ante videris, consulatum magnificentissime atque optime gesseris, praeclare memini ; sed idem etiam illa vidi, neque te consilium civilis belli ita gerendi nec copias Cn. Pompei
15 nec genus exercitus probare semperque summe diffidere ; qua in sententia me quoque fuisse memoria tenere te arbitror. Itaque neque tu multum interfuisti rebus gerendis, et ego id semper egi, ne interesssem ; non enim iis rebus pugnabamus, quibus valere poteramus, consilio,
20 auctoritate, causa, quae erant in nobis superiora, sed laceratis et viribus, quibus pares non eramus. Victi sumus igitur aut, si vinci dignitas non potest, fracti certe et abiecti. In quo tuum consilium nemo potest non maxime laudare, quod cum spe vincendi simul abiecisti certandi
25 etiam cupiditatem ostendistique sapientem et bonum civem initia belli civilis invitum suscipere, extrema libenter non persequi. (3) Qui non idem consilium quod tu secuti sunt, eos video in duo genera esse distractos ; aut enim renovare bellum conati sunt, ii qui se in Africam con-

tulerunt, aut quem ad modum nos victori sese crediderunt. Medium quoddam tuum consilium fuit, qui hoc fortasse humilis animi duceres, illud pertinacis. Fateor a plerisque, vel dicam ab omnibus, sapiens tuum consilium, a multis etiam magni et fortis animi iudicatum; sed habet ista 5 ratio, ut mihi quidem videtur, quendam modum, praesertim cum nihil tibi deesse arbitrer ad tuas fortunas omnis optinendas praeter voluntatem. Sic enim intellexi, nihil aliud esse, quod dubitationem adferret ei, penes quem est potestas, nisi quod vereretur, ne tu illud bene-10 ficiū omnino non putares. De quo quid sentiam, nihil attinet dicere, cum appareat, ipse quid fecerim. (4) Sed tamen, si iam ita constituisses, ut abesse perpetuo malles quam ea, quae nolles, videre, tamen id cogitare deberes, ubicumque esses, te fore in eius ipsius, quem fugeres, potestate. 15 Qui si facile passurus esset te carentem patria et fortunis tuis quiete et libere vivere, cogitandum tibi tamen esset, Romaene et domi tuae, cuiusmodi res esset, an Mitylenis aut Rhodi malles vivere. Sed cum ita late pateat eius potestas, quem veremur, ut terrarum orbem complexa sit, 20 nonne mavis sine periculo tuae domi esse quam cum periculo alienae? Equidem, etiamsi oppetenda mors esset, domi atque in patria mallet quam in externis atque alienis locis. Hoc idem omnes, qui te diligunt, sentiunt; quorum est magna pro tuis maximis clarissimisque virtu-25 tibus multitudo. Habemus etiam rationem rei familiaris tuae, quam dissipari nolumus. Nam, etsi nullam potest accipere iniuriam, quae futura perpetua sit, propterea quod neque is, qui tenet rem publicam, patietur neque ipsa res publica, tamen impetum praedonum in tuas 30 fortunas fieri nolo; ii autem qui essent, auderem scribere, nisi te intellegere confiderem.

(6) Hic te unius sollicitudines, unius etiam multae et assiduae lacrimae, C. Marcelli, fratris optimi, deprecantur. Nos cura et dolore proximi sumus, precibus tardiores, quod ius adeundi, cum ipsi deprecatione eguerimus, non
5 habemus; gratia tantum possumus quantum victi; sed tamen consilio, studio Marcello non desumus. A tuis reliquis non adhibemur; ad omnia parati sumus.

CXV. M. CICERO S.D. M. MARCELLO. (ROME, LATTER
HALF OF SEPTEMBER, 46)

Etsi perpaucis ante diebus dederam Q. Mucio litteras ad te pluribus verbis scriptas, quibus declaraveram, quo
10 te animo censerem esse oportere et quid tibi faciendum arbitrarer, tamen, cum Theophilus, libertus tuus, proficisceretur, cuius ego fidem erga te benevolentiamque perspexeram, sine meis litteris eum ad te venire nolui. Isdem igitur te rebus etiam atque etiam hortor, quibus superiori-
15 bus litteris hortatus sum, ut in ea re publica, quaecumque est, quam primum velis esse. Multa videbis fortasse, quae nolis, non plura tamen quam audis cotidie. Non est porro tuum uno sensu solum oculorum moveri, cum idem illud auribus percipias, quod etiam maius videri solet,
20 minus laborare. (2) At tibi ipsi dicendum erit aliquid, quod non sentias, aut faciendum, quod non probes. Primum tempori cedere, id est necessitati parere, semper sapientis est habitum; deinde non habet, ut nunc quidem est, id vitii res. Dicere fortasse, quae sentias, non licet,
25 tacere plane licet. Omnia enim delata ad unum sunt; is utitur consilio ne suorum quidem, sed suo. Quod non multo secus fieret, si is rem publicam teneret, quem secuti sumus. An, qui in bello, cum omnium nostrum coniunctum esset periculum, suo et certorum hominum

minime prudentium consilio uteretur, eum magis communem censemus in victoria futurum fuisse quam incertis in rebus fuisset? et, qui nec te consule tuum sapientissimum consilium secutus esset nec fratre tuo consulatum ex auctoritate tua gerente vobis auctoribus uti voluerit, 5 nunc omnia tenentem nostras sententias desideraturum censes fuisse? (3) Omnia sunt misera in bellis civilibus, quae maiores nostri ne semel quidem, nostra aetas saepe iam sensit, sed miserius nihil quam ipsa victoria; quae, etiamsi ad meliores venit, tamen eos ipsos ferociores im- 10 potentioresque reddit, ut, etiamsi natura tales non sint, necessitate esse cogantur; multa enim victori eorum arbitrio, per quos vicit, etiam invito facienda sunt. An tu non videbas mecum simul, quam illa crudelis esset futura victoria? Igitur tunc quoque careres patria, ne quae 15 nolles videres? 'Non,' inquires; 'ego enim ipse tenerem opes et dignitatem meam.' At erat tuae virtutis in minimis tuas res ponere, de re publica vehementer laborare. Deinde qui finis istius consilii est? nam adhuc et factum tuum probatur, et ut in tali re etiam fortuna laudatur, 20 factum, quod et initium belli necessario secutus sis et extrema sapienter persequi nolueris, fortuna, quod honesto otio tenueris et statum et famam dignitatis tuae. Nunc vero nec locus tibi ullus dulcior esse debet patria, nec eam diligere minus debes, quod deformior est, sed misereri 25 potius nec eam multis claris viris orbatam privare etiam aspectu tuo. (4) Denique, si fuit magni animi non esse supplicem victori, vide, ne superbi sit aspernari eiusdem liberalitatem et, si sapientis est carere patria, duri non desiderare; et, si re publica non possis frui, stultum est 30 nolle privata. Caput illud est, ut, si ista vita tibi commodior esse videatur, cogitandum tamen sit, ne tutior non

sit. Magna gladiatorum est licentia, sed in externis locis minor etiam ad facinus verecundia. Mihi salus tua tantae curae est, ut Marcello, fratri tuo, aut par aut certe proximus sim; tuum est consulere temporibus et incolumitati
5 et vitae et fortunis tuis.

CXVI. CICERO S.D. CORNIFICIO COLLEGAE. (ROME, END OF SEPTEMBER OR BEGINNING OF OCTOBER, 46)

Quod extremum fuit in ea epistula quam a te proxime accepi, ad id primum respondebo; animum advorti enim hoc vos magnos oratores facere non numquam. Epistulas requiris meas; ego autem numquam, cum mihi de-
10 nuntiatum esset a tuis ire aliquem, non dedi.

Quod mihi videor ex tuis litteris intellegere te nihil commissurum esse temere nec ante, quam scisses, quo iste nescio qui Caecilius Bassus erumperet, quicquam certi constituturum, id ego et speraram prudentia fretus et, ut
15 confiderem, fecerunt tuae gratissimae mihi litterae, idque ut facias quam saepissime, ut, et quid tu agas, et quid agatur, scire possim et etiam quid acturus sis, valde te rogo. Etsi periniquo patiebar animo te a me digredi, tamen eo tempore me consolabar, quod et in summum otium te
20 ire arbitrabar et ab impendentibus magnis negotiis discedere. (2) Utrumque contra accidit; istic enim bellum est exortum, hic pax consecuta, sed tamen eius modi pax, in qua, si adesses, multa te non delectarent, ea tamen, quae ne ipsum Caesarem quidem delectant. Bellorum
25 enim civilium ii semper exitus sunt, ut non ea solum fiant quae velit victor, sed etiam ut iis mos gerendus sit, quibus adiutoribus sit parta victoria. Equidem sic iam obdurui, ut ludis Caesaris nostri animo aequissimo viderem T. Plancum, audirem Laberi et Publili poemata.

Nihil mihi tam desse scito, quam quicum haec familiariter docteque rideam. Is tu eris, si quam primum veneris ; quod ut facias, non mea solum sed etiam tua interesse arbitror.

CXVII. M. CICERO S.D. A. CAECINAE. (ROME, ABOUT OCTOBER 1, 46)

Vereor, ne desideres officium meum, quod tibi pro nostra 5 et meritorum multorum et studiorum parium coniunctione deesse non debet ; sed tamen vereor, ne litterarum a me officium requiras. Quas tibi et iam pridem et saepe mississem, nisi cotidie melius exspectans gratulationem quam confirmationem animi tui complecti litteris maluissem. 10 Nunc, ut spero, brevi gratulabimur ; itaque in aliud tempus id argumentum epistolae differo. (2) His autem litteris animum tuum, quem minime imbecillum esse et audio et spero, etsi non sapientissimi, at amicissimi hominis auctoritate confirmandum etiam atque etiam puto, 15 nec iis quidem verbis, quibus te consoler ut adflictum et iam omni spe salutis orbatum, sed ut eum, de cuius incolumitate non plus dubitem, quam te meminisse dubitare de mea. Nam, cum me ex re p. expulissent ii, qui illam cadere posse stante me non putarunt, meminisse me ex multis 20 hospitibus, qui ad me ex Asia, in qua tu eras, venerant, audire te de glorioso et celeri reditu meo confirmare. (3) Si te ratio quaedam Etruscae disciplinae, quam a patre, nobilissimo atque optimo viro, acceperas, non fefellit, ne nos quidem nostra divinatio fallat, quam cum 25 sapientissimorum virorum monitis atque praeceptis plurimoque, ut tu scis, doctrinae studio tum magno etiam usu tractandae rei p. magnaue nostrorum temporum varietate consecuti sumus ; (4) cui quidem divinationi

hoc plus confidimus, quod ea nos nihil in his tam obscuris rebus tamque perturbatis umquam omnino fefellit. Dicerem, quae ante futura dixissem, ni vererem, ne ex eventis fingere viderem. Sed tamen plurimi sunt testes me et initio, ne coniungeret se cum Caesare, monuisse Pompeium et postea, ne seiungeret. Coniunctione frangi senatus opes, diiunctione civile bellum excitari videbam. Atque utebar familiarissime Caesare, Pompeium faciebam plurimi, sed erat meum consilium cum fidele Pompeio
10 tum salutare utrique. (5) Quae praeterea providerim praetereo ; nolo enim hunc de me optime meritum existimare ea me suasisse Pompeio, quibus ille si paruisset, esset hic quidem clarus in toga et princeps, sed tantas opes quantas nunc habet, non haberet. Eundem in Hispaniam
15 censi. Quod si fecisset, civile bellum nullum omnino fuisset. Rationem haberi absentis non tam pugnavi ut liceret, quam ut, quoniam ipso consule pugnante populus iusserat, haberetur. Causa orta belli est. Quid ego praetermisi aut monitorum aut querelarum, cum vel ini-
20 quissimam pacem iustissimo bello anteferrem? (6) Victa est auctoritas mea non tam a Pompeio — nam is movebatur — quam ab iis, qui duce Pompeio freti peropportunam et rebus domesticis et cupiditatibus suis illius belli victoriam fore putabant. Susceptum bellum est quiescente
25 me, depulsum ex Italia manente me, quoad potui ; sed valuit apud me plus pudor meus quam timor ; veritus sum deesse Pompei salutem, cum ille aliquando non defuisset meae. Itaque vel officio vel fama bonorum vel pudore victus ut in fabulis Amphiaras sic ego '*prudens et sciens*
30 *ad pestem ante oculos positam*' sum profectus. Quo in bello nihil adversi accidit non praedicente me. (7) Quare quoniam, ut augures et astrologi solent, ego quoque augur

publicus ex meis superioribus praedictis constitui apud te auctoritatem augurii et divinationis meae, debebit habere fidem nostra praedictio. Non igitur ex alitis involatu nec e cantu sinistro oscinis, ut in nostra disciplina est, nec ex tripudiis solistimis aut soniviis tibi auguror, sed habeo alia 5 signa, quae observem; quae etsi non sunt certiora illis, minus tamen habent vel obscuritatis vel erroris. (8) Notantur autem mihi ad divinandum signa duplici quadam via; quarum alteram duco e Caesare ipso, alteram e temporum civilium natura atque ratione. In Caesare haec 10 sunt: mitis clemensque natura, qualis exprimitur praeclearo illo libro 'Querelarum' tuarum. Accedit, quod mirifice ingeniis excellentibus, quale est tuum, delectatur. Praeterea cedit multorum iustis et officio incensis, non inanibus aut ambitiosis voluntatibus; in quo vehementer 15 eum consentiens Etruria movebit. (9) 'Cur haec igitur adhuc parum profecerunt?' Quia non putat se sustinere causas posse multorum, si tibi, cui iustius videtur irasci posse, concesserit. 'Quae est igitur,' inquires, 'spes ab irato?' Eodem fonte se haustum intelletget laudes suas, 20 e quo sit leviter aspersus. Postremo homo valde est acutus et multum providens; intellegit te, hominem in parte Italiae minime contemnenda facile omnium nobilissimum et in communi re p. cuivis summorum tuae aetatis vel ingenio vel gratia vel fama populi R. parem, non posse 25 prohiberi re publica diutius. Nolet hoc temporis potius esse aliquando beneficium quam iam suum.

(10) Dixi de Caesare; nunc dicam de temporum rerumque natura. Nemo est tam inimicus ei causae, quam Pompeius animatus melius quam paratus suscepit, qui 30 nos malos civis dicere aut homines improbos audeat. In quo admirari soleo gravitatem et iustitiam et sapientiam

Caesaris. Numquam nisi honorificentissime Pompeium appellat. At in eius persona multa fecit asperius. Armorum ista et victoriae sunt facta, non Caesaris; at nos quem ad modum est complexus! Cassium sibi legavit,
5 Brutum Galliae praefecit, Sulpicium Graeciae, Marcellum, cui maxime suscensebat, cum summa illius dignitate restituit. (11) Quo igitur haec spectant? Rerum hoc natura et civilium temporum non patietur, nec manens nec mutata ratio feret, primum ut non in causa pari eadem sit
10 et condicio et fortuna omnium, deinde ut in eam civitatem boni viri et boni cives nulla ignominia notati non revertantur, in quam tot nefariorum scelerum condemnati reverterunt.

(12) Habes augurium meum; quo, si quid addubitarem,
15 non potius uterer quam illa consolatione, qua facile fortem virum sustentarem, te, si explorata victoria arma sumpsisisses pro re p. — ita enim tum putabas — non nimis esse laudandum, sin propter incertos exitus eventusque bellorum posse accidere, ut vinceremur, putasses, non debere
20 te ad secundam fortunam bene paratum fuisse, adversam ferre nullo modo posse. Disputarem etiam, quanto solacio tibi conscientia tui facti, quanta delectationi in rebus adversis litterae esse deberent; commemorarem non solum veterum, sed horum etiam recentium vel ducum vel comi-
25 tum tuorum gravissimos casus; etiam externos multos claros viros nominarem; levat enim dolorem communis quasi legis et humanae condicionis recordatio; exponerem etiam, quem ad modum hic et quanta in turba quantaque in confusione rerum omnium viveremus; necesse est
30 enim minore desiderio perdita re p. carere quam bona. Sed hoc genere nihil opus est. Incolumem te cito ut spero, vel potius ut perspicio, videbimus.

(13) Interea tibi absenti et huic, qui adest, imagini animi et corporis tui, constantissimo atque optimo filio tuo, studium, officium, operam, laborem meum iam pridem et pollicitus sum et detuli, nunc hoc amplius, quod me amicissime cotidie magis Caesar amplectitur, familiares quidem eius sicuti neminem. Apud quem quicquid valebo vel auctoritate vel gratia, valebo tibi. Tu cura, ut cum firmitudine te animi tum etiam spe optima sustentēs.

CXVIII. M. CICERO S.D. SER. SULPICIO. (ROME, LATE SEPTEMBER OR EARLY OCTOBER, 46)

Accipio excusationem tuam, qua usus es, cur saepius ad me litteras uno exemplo dedisses, sed accipio ex ea parte, 10 quatenus aut neglegentia aut improbitate eorum qui epistulas accipiant, fieri scribis, ne ad nos perferantur; illam partem excusationis, qua te scribis 'orationis paupertate' — sic enim appellas — isdem verbis epistulas saepius mittere, nec nosco nec probo, et ego ipse, quem tu per 15 iocum — sic enim accipio — 'divitias orationis' habere dicis, me non esse verborum admodum inopem agnosco — *εἰπω νέεσθαι* enim non necesse est — sed tamen idem — nec hoc *εἰπω νέόμενος* — facile cedo tuorum scriptorum subtilitati et elegantiae.

20

(2) Consilium tuum, quo te usum scribis hoc Achaicum negotium non recusavisse, cum semper probavissem, tum multo magis probavi lectis tuis proximis litteris; omnes enim causae, quas commemoras, iustissimae sunt tuaque et auctoritate et prudentia dignissimae. Quod aliter ce- 25 cidisse rem existimas atque opinatus sis, id tibi nullo modo adsentior; sed quia tanta perturbatio et confusio est rerum, ita perculsa et prostrata foedissimo bello iacent omnia, ut is cuique locus, ubi ipse sit, et sibi quisque miser-

rimus esse videatur, propterea et tui consilii paenitet te, et nos, qui domi sumus, tibi beati videmur, at contra nobis non tu quidem vacuus molestiis, sed prae nobis beatus. Atque hoc ipso melior est tua quam nostra condicio, quod
5 tu, quid doleat, scribere audes, nos ne id quidem tuto possumus, nec id victoris vitio, quo nihil moderatius, sed ipsius victoriae, quae civilibus bellis semper est insolens.

(3) Uno te vicimus, quod de Marcelli, collegae tui, salute paulo ante quam tu cognovimus, etiam mehercule
10 quod, quem ad modum ea res ageretur, vidimus. Nam sic fac existimes, post has miserias, id est postquam armis disceptari coeptum sit de iure publico, nihil esse actum aliud cum dignitate. Nam et ipse Caesar accusata 'acerbitate' Marcelli — sic enim appellabat — laudataque hono-
15 rificentissime et aequitate tua et prudentia repente praeter spem dixit se senatui roganti de Marcello ne ominis quidem causa negaturum. Fecerat autem hoc senatus, ut, cum a L. Pisone mentio esset facta de M. Marcello, et C. Marcellus se ad Caesaris pedes abiecisset, cunctus con-
20 surgeret et ad Caesarem supplex accederet. Noli quaerere; ita mihi pulcher hic dies visus est, ut speciem aliquam viderer videre quasi reviviscentis rei publicae. (4) Itaque, cum omnes ante me rogati gratias Caesari egissent praeter Volcacium — is enim, si eo loco esset, negavit se facturum
25 fuisse — ego rogatus mutavi meum consilium. Nam statueram non mehercule inertia, sed desiderio pristinae dignitatis in perpetuum tacere. Fregit hoc meum consilium et Caesaris magnitudo animi et senatus officium; itaque pluribus verbis egi Caesari gratias, meque metuo ne
30 etiam in ceteris rebus honesto otio privarim, quod erat unum solacium in malis. Sed tamen, quoniam effugi eius offensionem, qui fortasse arbitraretur me hanc rem pub-

licam non putare, si perpetuo tacerem, modice hoc faciam aut etiam intra modum, ut et illius voluntati et meis studiis serviam. Nam, etsi a prima aetate me omnis ars et doctrina liberalis et maxime philosophia delectavit, tamen hoc studium cotidie ingravescit, credo, et aetatis maturitate ad prudentiam et iis temporum vitiis, ut nulla res alia levare animum molestiis possit. A quo studio te abduci negotiis intellego ex tuis litteris, sed tamen aliquid iam noctes te adiuvant.

(5) Servius tuus vel potius noster summa me observantia colit; cuius ego cum omni probitate summaque virtute tum studiis doctrinaque delector. Is mecum saepe de tua mansione aut decessione communicat. Adhuc in hac sum sententia, nihil ut faciamus, nisi quod maxime Caesar velle videatur. Res sunt eius modi, ut si Romae sis, nihil praeter tuos delectare possit. De reliquis nihil lenius ipso est Caesare, cetera sunt eiusmodi, ut si alterum utrum necesse sit, audire ea malis quam videre. Hoc nostrum consilium nobis minime iucundum est, qui te videre cupimus, sed consulimus tibi. Vale.

20

CXIX. MARCELLUS CICERONI S. (MYTILENE,
OCTOBER, 46)

Plurimum valuisse apud me tuam semper auctoritatem cum in omni re tum in hoc maxime negotio potes existimare. Cum mihi C. Marcellus, frater amantissimus mei, non solum consilium daret, sed precibus quoque me obsecraret, non prius mihi persuadere potuit, quam tuis est effectum litteris, ut uterer vestro potissimum consilio. Res quem ad modum sit acta, vestrae litterae mihi declarant. Gratulatio tua etsi est mihi probatissima, quod ab optimo fit animo, tamen hoc mihi multo iucundius est et

gratius, quod in summa paucitate amicorum, propinquo-
rum ac necessariorum, qui vere meae saluti faverent,
te cupidissimum mei singularemque mihi benevolentiam
praestitisse cognovi. (2) Reliqua sunt eius modi, quibus
5 ego, quoniam haec erant tempora, facile et aequo animo
carebam; hoc vero eius modi esse statuo, ut sine talium
virorum et amicorum benevolentia neque in adversa neque
in secunda fortuna quisquam vivere possit. Itaque in hoc
ego mihi gratulor; tu vero ut intellegas homini amicissi-
10 mo te tribuisse officium, re tibi praestabo. Vale.

CXX. CICERO LIGARIO. (ROME, NOVEMBER 26, 46)

Me scito omnem meum laborem, omnem operam, curam,
studium in tua salute consumere. Nam cum te semper
maxime dilexi, tum fratrum tuorum, quos aequae atque te
summa benevolentia sum complexus, singularis pietas
15 amorque fraternus nullum me patitur officii erga te studii-
que munus aut tempus praetermittere. Sed, quae faciam
fecerimque pro te, ex illorum te litteris quam ex meis malo
cognoscere; quid autem sperem aut confidam et explora-
tum habeam de salute tua, id tibi a me declarari volo.
20 Nam, si quisquam est timidus in magnis periculosisque
rebus semperque magis adversos rerum exitus metuens
quam sperans secundos, is ego sum et, si hoc vitiumst, eo me
non carere confiteor.

(2) Ego idem tamen cum a.d. V K. intercalares priores
25 rogatu fratrum tuorum venissem mane ad Caesarem atque
omnem adeundi et conveniendi illius indignitatem et
molestiam pertulissem, cum fratres et propinqui tui iace-
rent ad pedes, et ego essem locutus, quae causa, quae
tuum tempus postulabat, non solum ex oratione Caesaris,
30 quae sane mollis et liberalis fuit, sed etiam ex oculis et

vultu, ex multis praeterea signis, quae facilius perspicere potui quam scribere, hac opinione discessi, ut mihi tua salus dubia non esset. (3) Quam ob rem fac animo magno fortique sis et, si turbidissima sapienter ferebas, tranquilliora laete feras. Ego tamen tuis rebus sic adero ut diffi-⁵cillimis, neque Caesari solum, sed etiam amicis eius omnibus, quos mihi amicissimos esse cognovi, pro te, sicut adhuc feci, libentissime supplicabo. Vale.

CXXI. M. CICERO S.D. SER. SULPICIO. (ROME, NO-
VEMBER 26, 46)

Vehementer te esse sollicitum et in communibus miseriis praecipuo quodam dolore angi multi ad nos cotidie de-¹⁰ferunt. Quod quamquam minime miror et meum quodam modo agnosco, doleo tamen te sapientia praeditum prope singulari non tuis bonis delectari potius quam alienis malis laborare. Me quidem, etsi nemini concedo, qui maiorem ex pernicie et peste rei publicae molestiam traxerit, tamen ¹⁵multa iam consolantur maximeque conscientia consiliorum meorum. Multo enim ante tamquam ex aliqua specula prospexi tempestatem futuram, neque id solum mea sponte, sed multo etiam magis monente et denuntiante te. Etsi enim afui magnam partem consulatus tui, tamen et absens ²⁰cognoscebam, quae esset tua in hoc pestifero bello cavendo et praedicendo sententia, et ipse adfui primis temporibus tui consulatus, cum accuratissime monuisti senatum conlectis omnibus bellis civilibus, ut et illa timerent, quae meminissent, et scirent, cum superiores nullo tali ²⁵exemplo antea in re publica cognito tam crudeles fuissent, quicumque postea rem publicam oppressisset armis, multo intolerabiliorem futurum. Nam, quod exemplo fit, id etiam iure fieri putant, sed aliquid atque adeo multa ad-

dunt et adferunt de suo. (2) Quare meminisse debes eos qui auctoritatem et consilium tuum non sint secuti, sua stultitia occidisse, cum tua prudentia salvi esse potuissent. Dices: 'Quid me ista res consolatur in tantis tenebris
5 et quasi parietinis rei publicae?' Est omnino vix consolabilis dolor; tanta est omnium rerum amissio et desperatio recuperandi; sed tamen et Caesar ipse ita de te iudicat, et omnes cives sic existimant, quasi lumen aliquod extinctis ceteris elucere sanctitatem et prudentiam et
10 dignitatem tuam. Haec tibi ad levandas molestias magna esse debent. Quod autem a tuis abes, id eo levius ferendum est, quod eodem tempore a multis et magnis molestiis abes; quas ad te omnis perscriberem, nisi vererer, ne ea cognosceres absens, quae quia non vides, mihi videris
15 meliore esse condicione quam nos, qui videmus.

(3) Hactenus existimo nostram consolationem recte adhibitam esse, quoad certior ab homine amicissimo fieres iis de rebus, quibus levare possent molestiae tuae. Reliqua sunt in te ipso neque mihi ignota nec minima solacia, ut
20 quidem ego sentio, multo maxima; quae ego experiens cotidie sic probo, ut ea mihi salutem adferre videantur. Te autem ab initio aetatis memoria teneo summe omnium doctrinarum studiosum fuisse omniaque, quae a sapientissimis ad bene vivendum tradita essent, summo
25 studio curaque didicisse; quae quidem vel optimis rebus et usui et delectationi esse possunt, his vero temporibus habemus aliud nihil, in quo adquiescamus. Nihil faciam insolenter neque te tali vel scientia vel natura praeditum hortabor, ut ad eas te referas artis, quibus a primis tem-
30 poribus aetatis studium tuum dedisti; (4) tantum dicam, quod te spero adprobaturum, me, posteaquam illi arti, cui studueram, nihil esse loci neque in curia neque in foro

viderem, omnem meam curam atque operam ad philosophiam contulisse. Tuæ scientiæ excellenti ac singulari non multo plus quam nostræ relictum est loci. Quare non equidem te moneo, sed mihi ita persuasi, te quoque in isdem versari rebus, quæ etiamsi minus prodessent, animum tamen a sollicitudine abducerent.

Servius quidem tuus in omnibus ingenuis artibus in primisque in hac, in qua ego me scripsi adquiescere, ita versatur, ut excellat; a me vero sic diligitur, ut tibi uni concedam, præterea nemini; mihiq̃ue ab eo gratia refertur; in quo ille existimat, quod facile appareat, cum me colat et observet, tibi quoque in eo se facere gratissimum.

CXXII. CICERO PAETO S. (ROME, FIRST INTERCALARY MONTH (*i.e.* AFTER NOVEMBER) 46)

Duabus tuis epistulis respondebo, uni, quam quadriduo ante acceperam a Zetho, alteri, quam attulerat Phileros tabellarius. Ex prioribus tuis litteris intellexi pergratam tibi esse curam meam valetudinis tuæ, quam tibi perspectam esse gaudeo; sed, mihi crede, non perinde, ut est reapse, ex litteris perspicere potuisti. Nam cum a satis multis — non enim possum aliter dicere — et coli me videam et diligi, nemo est illorum omnium mihi te iucundior. Nam, quod me amas, quod id et iam pridem et constanter facis, est id quidem magnum atque haud scio an maximum, sed tibi commune cum multis; quod tu ipse tam amandus es tamque dulcis tamque in omnī genere iucundus, id est proprie tuum. (2) Accedunt non Attici, sed salsiores quam illi Atticorum Romani veteres atque urbani sales. Ego autem existimes licet quidlibet — mirifice capior facetiis maxime nostratibus, præsertim cum

eas videam primum oblitus Latio tum cum in urbem nostram est infusa peregrinitas, nunc vero etiam bracatis et Transalpinis nationibus, ut nullum veteris leporis vestigium appareat. Itaque te cum video, omnis mihi Grannios, omnis Lucilios, vere ut dicam, Crassos quoque et Laelios videre videor. Moriar, si praeter te quemquam reliquum habeo, in quo possim imaginem antiquae et vernaculae festivitatis agnoscere. Ad hos lepores cum amor erga me tantus accedat, miraris me tanta perturbatione valetudinis tuae tam graviter exanimatum fuisse?

(3) Quod autem altera epistula purgas te non dissuasorem mihi emptionis Neapolitanae fuisse, sed auctorem moderationis, urbane, neque ego aliter accepi; intellexi tamen idem, quod his intellego litteris, non existimasse te mihi licere, id quod ego arbitrabar, res has non omnino quidem, sed magnam partem relinquere. Catulum mihi narras et illa tempora. Quid simile? ne mi quidem ipsi tunc placebat diutius abesse ab rei p. custodia; sedebamus enim in puppi et clavum tenebamus; nunc autem vix est in sentina locus. (4) An minus multa s. c. futura putas, si ego sim Neapoli? Romae cum sum et urgeo forum, s. c. scribuntur apud amatorem tuum, familiarem meum; et quidem, cum in mentem venit, ponor ad scribendum et ante audio s. c. in Armeniam et Syriam esse perlatum, quod in meam sententiam factum esse dicatur, quam omnino mentionem ullam de ea re esse factam. Atque hoc nolim me iocari putes; nam mihi scito iam a regibus ultimis allatas esse litteras, quibus mihi gratias agant quod se mea sententia reges appellaverim, quos ego non modo reges appellatos, sed omnino natos nesciebam. (5) Quid ergo est? tamen, quam diu hic erit noster hic praefectus moribus, parebo auctoritati tuae; cum vero

aberit, ad fungos me tuos conferam. Domum si habebo, in denos dies singulos sumptuariae legis dies conferam; sin autem minus invenero, quod placeat, decrevi habitare apud te; scio enim me nihil tibi gratius facere posse. Domum Sullanam desperabam iam, ut tibi proxime scripsi, sed tamen non abieci. Tu velim, ut scribis, cum fabris eam perspicias; si enim nihil est in parietibus aut in tecto vitii, cetera mihi probabuntur.

CXXIII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ARPINUM, NOVEMBER 24, 46, JULIAN CALENDAR)

Undecimo die, postquam a te discesseram, hoc litterularum exaravi egrediens e villa ante lucem atque eo die cogitabam in Anagnino, postero autem in Tusculano, ibi unum diem; V Kalend. igitur ad constitutum. Atque utinam continuo ad complexum meae Tulliae, ad osculum Atticae possim currere! Quod quidem ipsum scribe, quaeso, ad me, ut, dum consisto in Tusculano, sciam, quid garriat, sin rusticatur, quid scribat ad te; eique interea aut scribes salutem aut nuntiabis itemque Piliae. Et tamen, etsi continuo congressuri sumus, scribes ad me, si quid habebis.

(2) Cum complicarem hanc epistulam, noctuabundus ad me venit cum epistula tua tabellarius; qua lecta de Atticae febricula scilicet valde dolui. Reliqua, quae expectabam, ex tuis litteris cognovi omnia; sed, quod scribis 'igniculum matutinum *γεροντικόν*,' *γεροντικώτερον* est memoriola vacillare. Ego enim IIII Kal. Axio dederam, tibi III, Quinto, quo die venissem, id est V Kal. Hoc igitur habebis, novi nihil. Quid ergo opus erat epistula? Quid, cum coram sumus et garrimus, quicquid in buccam? Est profecto quiddam *λέσχη*, quae habet, etiamsi nihil subest, collocutione ipsa suavitatem.

CXXIV. CICERO CAECINAE. (ROME, BEGINNING OF
DECEMBER, 46)

Cum esset mecum Largus, homo tui studiosus, locutus
K. Ianuarias tibi praefinitas esse, quod omnibus rebus
perspexeram, quae Balbus et Oppius absente Caesare
egissent, ea solere illi rata esse, egi vehementer cum iis,
5 ut hoc mihi darent, tibi in Sicilia, quoad vellemus, esse
uti liceret. Qui mihi consuissent aut libenter polliceri,
si quid esset eius modi, quod eorum animos non offenderet,
aut etiam negare et adferre rationem, cur negarent, huic
meae rogationi potius non continuo responderunt; eodem
10 die tamen ad me reverterunt; mihi hoc dederunt, ut esses
in Sicilia, quoad velles; se praestatueros nihil ex eo te
offensionis habiturum.

(2) Quoniam, quid tibi permittatur, cognosti, quid
mihi placeat, puto te scire oportere. Actis his rebus lit-
15 terae a te mihi redditae sunt, quibus a me consilium petis,
quid sim tibi auctor, in Siciliane subsidias an ut ad reli-
quias Asiaticae negotiationis proficiscare. Haec tua de-
liberatio non mihi convenire visa est cum oratione Largi.
Ille enim mecum, quasi tibi non liceret in Sicilia diutius
20 commorari, ita locutus erat, tu autem, quasi concessum
sit, ita deliberas. Sed ego, sive hoc sive illud est, in Sicilia
censeo commorandum. Propinquitas locorum vel ad im-
petrandum adiuvat crebris litteris et nuntiis vel ad redi-
tus celeritatem re aut impetrata, quod spero, aut aliqua
25 ratione confecta. Quam ob rem censeo magno opere
commorandum.

(3) T. Furfanio Postumo, familiari meo, legatisque
eius, item meis familiaribus, diligentissime te commendabo,
cum venerint. Erant enim omnes Mutinae. Viri sunt
30 optimi et tui similibus studiosi et mei necessarii. Quae

mihi venient in mentem, quae ad te pertinere arbitrabor, ea mea sponte faciam; si quid ignorabo, de eo admonitus omnium studia vincam. Ego etsi coram de te cum Furfanio ita loquar, ut tibi litteris meis ad eum nihil opus sit, tamen, quoniam tuis placuit te habere meas litteras, quas 5 ei redderes, morem iis gessi. Earum litterarum exemplum infra scriptum est.

CXXV. M. CICERO FURFANIO PROCOS. S. (ROME,
SAME DATE AS ABOVE)

Cum A. Caecina tanta mihi familiaritas consuetudoque semper fuit, ut nulla maior esse possit; nam et patre eius, claro homine et forti viro, plurimum sum usus et 10 hunc a puero, quod et spem magnam mihi adferebat summae probitatis summaeque eloquentiae et vivebat mecum coniunctissime non solum officiis amicitiae, sed etiam studiis communibus, sic semper dilexi, ut non ullo cum homine coniunctius viverem. (2) Nihil attinet me plura scribere; 15 quam mihi necesse sit eius salutem et fortunas, quibuscumque rebus possim, tueri, vides. Reliquum est, ut, cum cognorim pluribus rebus, quid tu et de bonorum fortuna et de rei p. calamitatibus sentires, nihil a te petam, nisi ut ad eam voluntatem, quam tua sponte erga Caeci- 20 nam habiturus esses, tantus cumulus accedat commendatione mea, quanti me a te fieri intellego. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Vale.

CXXVI. CAECINA CICERONI P.S. (SICILY, MIDDLE OF
DECEMBER, 46)

Quod tibi non tam celeriter liber est redditus, ignosce timori nostro et miserere temporis. Filius, ut audio, per- 25 timuit, neque iniuria, si liber exisset, — quoniam non tam

interest, quo animo scribatur, quam quo accipiatur — ne ea res inepte mihi noceret, cum praesertim adhuc stili poenas dem. Qua quidem in re singulari sum fato. Nam, cum mendum scripturae litura tollatur, stultitia fama
5 multetur, meus error exilio corrigitur, cuius summa criminis est, quod armatus adversario male dixi. (2) Nemo nostrum est, ut opinor, quin vota Victoriae suae fecerit, nemo, quin, etiam cum de alia re immolaret, tamen eo quidem ipso tempore, ut quam primum Caesar superare-
10 tur, optarit. Hoc si non cogitat, omnibus rebus felix est ; si scit et persuasus est, quid irascitur ei, qui aliquid scripsit contra suam voluntatem, cum ignorit omnibus, qui multa deos venerati sint contra eius salutem. (3) Sed ut eodem revertar, causa haec fuit timoris : Scripsi de te
15 parce medius fidius et timide non revocans me ipse, sed paene refugiens. Genus autem hoc scripturae non modo liberum, sed incitatum atque elatum esse debere quis ignorat? Solutum existimatur esse alteri male dicere, — tamen cavendum est, ne in petulantiam incidas — impe-
20 ditum se ipsum laudare, ne vitium adrogantiae subsequatur, solum vero liberum alterum laudare, de quo quicquid detrahas, necesse est aut infirmitati aut invidiae adsignetur. Ac nescio an tibi gratius opportuniusque acciderit ; nam, quod praeclare facere non poteram, primum
25 erat non attingere, secundum beneficium quam parcissime facere. Sed tamen ego quidem me sustinui ; multa minui, multa sustuli, complura ne posui quidem. Quem ad modum igitur, scalarum gradus si alios tollas, alios incidas, non nullos male haerentis relinquas, ruinae periculum
30 struas, non ascensum pares, sic tot malis tum vinctum, tum fractum studium scribendi quid dignum auribus aut probabile potest adferre ?

(4) Cum vero ad ipsius Caesaris nomen veni, toto corpore contremesco non poenae metu, sed illius iudicii. Totum enim Caesarem non novi. Quem putas animum esse, ubi secum loquitur? 'Hoc probabit, hoc verbum suspiciosum est. Quid, si hoc muto? At vereor, ne 5 peius sit. Age vero, laudo aliquem; num offendo? Cum porro offendam, quid, si non vult? Armati stilum persequitur; victi et nondum restituti quid faciet?'

Auges etiam tu mihi timorem, qui in Oratore tuo caves tibi per Brutum et ad excusationem socium quaeris. Ubi 10 hoc omnium patronus facit, quid me, veterem tuum, nunc omnium clientem, sentire oportet? In hac igitur calumnia timoris et caecae suspicionis tormento, cum plurima ad alieni sensus coniecturam, non ad suum iudicium scribantur, quam difficile sit evadere, si minus expertus es, 15 quod te ad omnia summum atque excellens ingenium armavit, nos sentimus. Sed tamen ego filio dixeram, librum tibi legeret et auferret aut ea condicione daret, si reciperes te correcturum, hoc est si totum alium faceres.

(5) De Asiatico itinere, quamquam summa necessitas 20 premebat, ut imperasti, feci.

Te pro me quid horter? Vides tempus venisse, quo necesse sit de nobis constitui. Nihil est, mi Cicero, quod filium meum exspectes. Adulescens est; omnia excogitare vel studio vel aetate vel metu non potest. Totum ne- 25 gotium tu sustineas oportet; in te mihi omnis spes est. Tu pro tua prudentia, quibus rebus gaudeat, quibus capiat Caesar, tenes; a te omnia proficiscantur et per te ad exitum perducantur necesse est; apud ipsum multum, ad eius omnis plurimum potes. Unum tibi si persuaseris, 30 non hoc esse tui muneris, si quid rogatus fueris, ut facias — quamquam id magnum et amplum est — sed totum tuum

esse onus, perficies ; nisi forte aut in miseria nimis stulte aut in amicitia nimis impudenter tibi onus impono. Sed utrique rei excusationem tuae vitae consuetudo dat. Nam, quod ita consuesti pro amicis laborare, non iam sic sperant
5 abs te, sed etiam sic imperant tibi familiares.

Quod ad librum attinet, quem tibi filius dabit, peto a te, ne exeat, aut ita corrigas, ne mihi noceat.

CXXVII. M. CICERO S.D. A. TORQUATO. (ROME, END
OF 46)

Etsi ea perturbatio est omnium rerum, ut suae quemque fortunae maxime paeniteat, nemoque sit, quin ubivis
10 quam ibi, ubi est, esse malit, tamen mihi dubium non est, quin hoc tempore bono viro Romae esse miserrimum sit. Nam etsi, quocumque in loco quisque est, idem est ei sensus et eadem acerbitas ex interitu rerum et publicarum et suarum, tamen oculi augent dolorem, qui ea,
15 quae ceteri audiunt, intueri cogunt nec avertere a miseriis cogitationem sinunt. Quare, etsi multarum rerum desiderio te angi necesse est, tamen illo dolore, quo maxime te confici audio, quod Romae non sis, animum tuum libera. Etsi enim cum magna molestia tuos tuaque desideras,
20 tamen illa quidem, quae requiris, suum statum tenent nec melius, si tu adesses, tenerent nec sunt ullo in proprio periculo ; nec debes tu, cum de tuis cogitas, aut praecipuam aliquam fortunam postulare aut communem recusare. (2) De te autem ipso, Torquate, est tuum sic
25 agitare animo, ut non adhibeas in consilium cogitationum tuarum desperationem aut timorem. Nec enim is, qui in te adhuc iniustior, quam tua dignitas postulabat, fuit, non magna signa dedit animi erga te mitigati, nec tamen is ipse, a quo salus petitur, habet explicatam aut explora-

tam rationem salutis suae; cumque omnium bellorum exitus incerti sint, ab altera victoria tibi periculum nullum esse perspicio, quod quidem seiunctum sit ab omnium interitu, ab altera te ipsum numquam timuisse certo scio.

(3) Reliquum est, ut te id ipsum, quod ego quasi consolationis loco pono, maxime excruciet, commune periculum rei publicae. Cuius tanti mali, quamvis docti viri multa dicant, tamen vereor ne consolatio nulla possit vera reperiri praeter illam, quae tanta est, quantum in cuiusque animo roboris est atque nervorum. Si enim bene sentire 10 recteque facere satis est ad bene beateque vivendum, vereor, ne eum, qui se optimorum consiliorum conscientia sustentare possit, miserum nefas sit dicere. Nec enim nos arbitror victoriae praemiis ductos patriam olim et liberos et fortunas reliquisse; sed quoddam nobis officium 15 iustum et pium et debitum rei p. nostraeque dignitati videbamus sequi nec, cum id faciebamus, tam eramus amentes, ut explorata nobis esset victoria. (4) Quare, si id evenit, quod ingredientibus nobis in causam propositum fuit accidere posse, non debemus ita cadere animis, quasi ali-20 quid evenerit, quod fieri posse numquam putarimus. Simus igitur ea mente, quam ratio et veritas praescribit, ut nihil in vita nobis praestandum praeter culpam putemus, eaque cum careamus, omnia humana placate et moderate feramus. Atque haec eo pertinet oratio, ut per-25 ditis rebus omnibus tamen ipsa virtus se sustentare posse videatur. Sed si est spes aliqua rebus communibus, ea tu, quicumque status est futurus, carere non debes.

(5) Atque haec mihi scribenti veniebat in mentem me esse eum, cuius tu desperationem accusare solitus esses 30 quemque auctoritate tua cunctantem et diffidentem excitare. Quo quidem tempore non ego causam nostram,

sed consilium improbabam. Sero enim nos iis armis adversari videbam, quae multo ante confirmata per nosmet ipsos erant, dolebamque pilis et gladiis, non consiliis neque auctoritatibus nostris, de iure publico disceptari. Neque
5 ego ea, quae facta sunt, fore cum dicebam, divinabam futura, sed, quod et fieri posse et exitiosum fore, si evenisset, videbam, id ne accideret, timebam, praesertim cum, si mihi alterum utrum de eventu atque exitu rerum promittendum esset, id futurum, quod evenit, exploratius
10 possem promittere. Iis enim rebus praestabamus, quae non prodeunt in aciem, usu autem armorum et militum robore inferiores eramus. Sed tu illum animum nunc adhibe, quaeso, quō me tum esse oportere censebas.

(6) Haec eo scripsi, quod mihi Philargyrus tuus omnia
15 de te requirenti fidelissimo animo, ut mihi quidem visus est, narravit te interdum sollicitum solere esse vementius. Quod facere non debes nec dubitare, quin aut aliqua re p. sis is futurus, qui esse debes, aut perdita non adflictiore condicione quam ceteri. Hoc vero tempus, quo exanimati omnes et suspensi sumus, hoc moderatiore animo ferre
20 debes, quod et in urbe ea es, ubi nata et alta est ratio ac moderatio vitae, et habes Ser. Sulpicium, quem semper unice dilexisti; qui te profecto et benevolentia et sapientia consolatur. Cuius si essemus et auctoritatem et consilium secuti, togati potius potentiam quam armati victoriam subissemus.

(7) Sed haec longiora fortasse fuerunt, quam necesse fuit; illa, quae maiora sunt, brevius exponam. Ego habeo, cui plus quam tibi debeam, neminem; quibus
30 tantum debebam, quantum tu intellegis, eos huius mihi belli casus eripuit; qui sim autem hoc tempore, intellego; sed, quia nemo est tam adflictus, quin, si nihil aliud stu-

deat nisi id, quod agit, possit navare aliquid et efficere, omne meum consilium, operam, studium certe velim existimes tibi tuisque liberis esse debitum.

CXXVIII. CICERO S.D. GALLO. (TUSCULUM, END OF 46)

Cum decimum iam diem graviter ex intestinis laborarem neque iis, qui mea opera uti volebant, me probarem non 5 valere, quia febrim non haberem, fugi in Tusculanum, cum quidem biduum ita ieiunus fuisset, ut ne aquam quidem gustarem. Itaque confectus languore et fame magis tuum officium desideravi quam a te requiri putavi meum. Ego autem cum omnis morbos reformido, tum 10 in quo Epicurum tuum Stoici male accipiunt, quia dicat 'στραγγουρικὰ καὶ δυσεντερικὰ πάθη' sibi molesta esse; quorum alterum morbum edacitatis esse putant, alterum etiam turpioris intemperantiae. Sane *δυσεντερίαν* per-
timueram; sed visa est mihi vel loci mutatio vel animi 15 etiam relaxatio vel ipsa fortasse iam senescentis morbi remissio profuisse. (2) Ac tamen ne mirere, unde hoc acciderit, quo modove commiserim, lex sumptuaria, quae videtur *λιτότητα* attulisse, ea mihi fraudi fuit. Nam dum volunt isti lauti terra nata, quae lege excepta sunt, 20 in honorem adducere, fungos, helvellas, herbas omnis ita condiunt, ut nihil possit esse suavius. In eas cum incidissem in cena augurali apud Lentulum, tanta me *διάρροια* arripuit, ut hodie primum videatur coepisse consistere. Ita ego, qui me ostreis et murenis facile abstinebam, a 25 beta et a malva deceptus sum. Posthac igitur erimus cautiores.

Tu tamen, cum audisses ab Anicio — vidit enim me nauseantem — non modo mittendi causam iustam habuisti, sed etiam visendi. Ego hic cogito commorari, quoad 30

me reficiam, nam et viris et corpus amisi; sed, si morbum depulero, facile, ut spero, illa revocabo.

CXXIX. CICERO SERVIO S. (ROME, 46)

Hagesaretus Larisaeus magnis meis beneficiis ornatus in consulatu meo memor et gratus fuit meque postea diligentissime coluit. Eum tibi magnopere commendo ut et hospitem meum et familiarem et gratum hominem et virum bonum et principem civitatis suae et tua necessitudine dignissimum. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam ut is intellegat hanc meam commendationem magnum
10 apud te pondus habuisse.

CXXX. CICERO DOLABELLAE S. (ROME, END OF 46
OR EARLY IN 45)

C. Subernius Calenus et meus est familiaris et Leptae, nostri familiarissimi, pernecessarius. Is cum vitandi belli causa profectus esset in Hispaniam cum M. Varrone ante bellum, ut in ea provincia esset, in qua nemo nostrum
15 post Afranium superatum bellum ullum fore putaret, incidit in ea ipsa mala quae summo studio vitaverat; oppressus est enim bello repentino, quod bellum commotum a Scapula ita postea confirmatum est a Pompeio, ut nulla ratione ab illa miseria se eripere posset. (2) Eadem
20 causa fere est M. Plani Heredis, qui est item Calenus, Leptae nostri familiarissimus. Hosce igitur ambos tibi sic commendo, ut maiore cura, studio, sollicitudine animi commendare non possim. Volo ipsorum causa, meque in eo vehementer et amicitia movet et humanitas; Lepta
25 vero cum ita laboret, ut eius fortunae videantur in discrimen venire, non possum ego non aut proxime atque ille aut

etiam aequè laborare. Quapropter, etsi saepe expertus sum quantum me amares, tamen sic velim tibi persuadeas, id me in hac re maxime iudicaturum. (3) Peto igitur a te vel, si pateris, oro, ut homines miseros et fortuna, quam vitare nemo potest, magis quam culpa calamitosos conserves incolumis velisque per te me hoc muneris cum ipsis amicis hominibus, cum municipio Caleno, quocum mihi magna necessitudo est, tum Leptae, quem omnibus antepono, dare. (4) Quod dicturus sum puto equidem non valde ad rem pertinere, sed tamen nihil obest dicere :¹⁰ res familiaris alteri eorum valde exigua est, alteri vix equestris. Quapropter, quoniam iis Caesar vitam sua liberalitate concessit, nec est, quod iis praeterea magnopere possit adimi, redditum, si me tantum amas, quantum certe amas, hominibus confice ; in quo nihil est praeter¹⁵ viam longam, quam idcirco non fugiunt, ut et vivant cum suis et moriantur domi. Quod ut enitare contendasque vel potius ut perficias — posse enim te mihi persuasi — vehementer te etiam atque etiam rogo.

CXXXI. CICERO CAESARI S. (ROME, END OF 46 OR
BEGINNING OF 45)

P. Crassum ex omni nobilitate adulescentem dilexi²⁰ plurimum, et ex eo cum ab ineunte aetate bene speravissem, tum perbene existimare coepi eximiis iudiciis, quae de eo feceras, cognitis. Eius libertum Apollonium iam tum equidem, cum ille viveret, et magni faciebam et probabam ; erat enim et studiosus Crassi et ad eius optima stu-²⁵dia vehementer aptus ; itaque ab eo admodum diligebatur. (2) Post mortem autem Crassi eo mihi etiam dignior visus est, quem in fidem atque amicitiam meam reciperem, quod eos a se observandos et colendos putabat, quos ille dile-

xisset et quibus carus fuisset. Itaque et ad me in Ciliciam venit, multisque in rebus mihi magno usui fuit et fides eius et prudentia et, ut opinor, tibi in Alexandrino bello, quantum studio et fidelitate consequi potuit, non defuit.

5 (3) Quod cum speraret te quoque ita existimare, in Hispaniam ad te maxime ille quidem suo consilio, sed etiam me auctore est profectus. Cui ego commendationem non sum pollicitus, non quin eam valituram apud te arbitrarer, sed neque egere mihi commendatione videbatur, qui et
10 in bello tecum fuisset et propter memoriam Crassi de tuis unus esset, et si uti commendationibus vellet, etiam per alios eum videbam id consequi posse; testimonium mei de eo iudicii, quod et ipse magni aestimabat et ego apud te valere eram expertus, ei lubenter dedi.

15 (4) Doctum igitur hominem cognovi et studiis optimis deditum, idque a puero; nam domi meae cum Diodoto Stoico, homine meo iudicio eruditissimo, multum a puero fuit. Nunc autem incensus studio rerum tuarum eas literis Graecis mandare cupiebat. Posse arbitror; valet
20 ingenio, habet usum, iam pridem in eo genere studii literarumque versatur, satis facere immortalitati laudum tuarum mirabiliter cupit.

Habes opinionis meae testimonium, sed tu hoc facilius multo pro tua singulari prudentia iudicabis. Et tamen,
25 quod negaveram, commendo tibi eum. Quicquid ei commodaveris, erit id mihi maiorem in modum gratum.

CXXXII. CICERO LEPTAE. (ROME, END OF JANUARY, 45)

Simulatque accepi a Seleuco tuo litteras, statim quaesivi a Balbo per codicillos, quid esset in lege. Rescripsit eos, qui facerent praeconium, vetari esse in decurionibus;
30 qui fecissent, non vetari. Quare bono animo sint et tui

et mei familiares ; neque enim erat ferendum, cum, qui hodie haruspicinam facerent, in senatum Romae legerentur, eos, qui aliquando praeconium fecissent, in municipiis decuriones esse non licere.

(2) De Hispaniis novi nihil. Magnum tamen exercitum 5 Pompeium habere constat ; nam Caesar ipse ad suos misit exemplum Paciaeci litterarum, in quo erat illas XI esse legiones. Scripserat etiam Messalla Q. Salasso P. Curtium, fratrem eius, iussu Pompei inspectante exercitu interfectum, quod consensisset cum Hispanis quibusdam, si 10 in oppidum nescio quod Pompeius rei frumentariae causa venisset, eum comprehendere ad Caesaremque deducere.

(3) De tuo negotio, quod sponsor es pro Pompeio, si Galba, consponsor tuus, redierit, homo in re familiari non parum diligens, non desinam cum illo communicare, si quid 15 expediri possit ; quod videbatur mihi ille confidere.

(4) 'Oratorem' meum tanto opere a te probari vehementer gaudeo. Mihi quidem sic persuadeo, me, quicquid habuerim iudicii de dicendo, in illum librum contulisse. Qui si est talis, qualem tibi videri scribis, ego 20 quoque aliquid sum ; sin aliter, non recuso, quin, quantum de illo libro, tantundem de mei iudicii fama detrahatur. Leptam nostrum cupio delectari iam talibus scriptis. Etsi abest maturitas aetatis, tamen personare auris eius huius modi vocibus non est inutile. 25

(5) Me Romae tenuit omnino Tulliae meae partus. Sed, cum ea, quem ad modum spero, satis firma sit, teneor tamen, dum a Dolabellae procuratoribus exigam primam pensionem ; et mehercule non tam sum peregrinator iam, quam solebam. Aedificia mea me delectant et otium ; 30 domus est, quae nulli mearum villarum cedat, otium omni desertissima regione maius. Itaque ne litterae quidem

meae impediuntur, in quibus sine ulla interpellatione versor. Quare, ut arbitror, prius hic te nos quam istic tu nos videbis. Lepta suavissimus ediscat Hesiodum et habeat in ore 'τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα,' et cetera.

CXXXIII. SERVIUS CICERONI S. (ATHENS, MIDDLE OF MARCH, 45)

5 Posteaquam mihi renuntiatum est de obitu Tulliae, filiae tuae, sane quam pro eo, ac debui, graviter molesteque tuli communemque eam calamitatem existimavi; qui, si istic adfuissem, neque tibi defuissem coramque meum dolorem tibi declarassem. Etsi genus hoc consolationis miserum atque acerbum est, propterea quia,
10 per quos ea confieri debet, propinquos atque familiaris, ii ipsi pari molestia adficiuntur neque sine lacrimis multis id conari possunt, uti magis ipsi videantur aliorum consolatione indigere quam aliis posse suum officium praestare,
15 tamen, quae in praesentia in mentem mihi venerunt, decrevi brevi ad te perscribere, non quo ea te fugere existimem, sed quod forsitan dolore impeditus minus ea perspicias.

(2) Quid est quod tanto opere te commoveat tuus dolor intestinus? Cogita, quem ad modum adhuc fortuna
20 nobiscum egerit; ea nobis erepta esse quae hominibus non minus quam liberi cara esse debent, patriam, honestatem, dignitatem, honores omnis. Hoc uno incommodo addito quid ad dolorem adiungi potuit? aut qui non in illis rebus exercitatus animus callere iam debet atque omnia
25 minoris existimare? (3) At illius vicem, credo, doles. Quotiens in eam cogitationem necesse est et tu veneris et nos saepe incidimus, hisce temporibus non pessime cum iis esse actum, quibus sine dolore licitum est mortem cum vita commutare! Quid autem fuit, quod illam hoc tem-

pore ad vivendum magno opere invitare posset? quae res, quae spes, quod animi solacium? ut cum aliquo adulescente primario coniuncta aetatem gereret? Licitum est tibi, credo, pro tua dignitate ex hac iuventute generum deligere, cuius fidei liberos tuos te tuto committere 5 putares. An ut ea liberos ex se pareret, quos cum florentis videret, laetaretur, qui rem a parente traditam per se tenere possent, honores ordinatim petaturi essent in re publica, in amicorum negotiis libertate sua usi? Quid horum fuit, quod non, priusquam datum est, ademptum sit? 10 At vero malum est liberos amittere. Malum; nisi hoc peius est, haec sufferre et perpeti. Quae res mihi non mediocrem consolationem attulit, volo tibi commemorare, si forte eadem res tibi dolorem minuere possit.

(4) Ex Asia rediens cum ab Aegina Megaram versus 15 navigarem, coepi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Aegina, ante me Megara, dextra Piraeus, sinistra Corinthus, quae oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos iacent. Coepi egomet mecum sic cogitare: 'Hem! nos homunculi 20 indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot oppidum cada-vera proiecta iacent? Visne tu te, Servi, cohibere et meminisse hominem te esse natum?' Crede mihi, cogitatione ea non mediocriter sum confirmatus. Hoc idem, si tibi 25 videtur, fac ante oculos tibi proponas. Modo uno tempore tot viri clarissimi interierunt, de imperio populi Romani tanta deminutio facta est, omnes provinciae conquassatae sunt; in unius mulierculae animula si iactura facta est, tanto opere commoveris? Quae si hoc tempore non diem 30 suum obisset, paucis post annis tamen ei moriendum fuit, quoniam homo nata fuerat. (5) Etiam tu ab hisce rebus

animum ac cogitationem tuam avoca atque ea potius reminiscere, quae digna tua persona sunt, illam, quam diu ei opus fuerit, vixisse, una cum re publica fuisse, te, patrem suum, praetorem, consulem, augurem vidisse, adulescentibus primariis nuptam fuisse, omnibus bonis prope perfectam esse, cum res publica occideret, vita excessisse. Quid est, quod tu aut illa cum fortuna hoc nomine queri possitis? Denique noli te oblivisci Ciceronem esse et eum, qui aliis consueris praecipere et dare consilium, neque
10 imitare malos medicos, qui in alienis morbis profitentur tenere se medicinae scientiam, ipsi se curare non possunt, sed potius, quae aliis tute praecipere soles, ea tute tibi subiacere atque apud animum propone. (6) Nullus dolor est, quem non longinquitas temporis minuat ac molliat. Hoc
15 te exspectare tempus tibi turpe est ac non ei rei sapientia tua te occurrere. Quodsi qui etiam inferis sensus est, qui illius in te amor fuit pietasque in omnis suos, hoc certe illa te facere non vult. Da hoc illi mortuae, da ceteris amicis ac familiaribus, qui tuo dolore maerent, da patriae, ut, si
20 qua in re opus sit, opera et consilio tuo uti possit. Denique, quoniam in eam fortunam devenimus, ut etiam huic rei nobis serviendum sit, noli committere, ut quisquam te putet non tam filiam quam rei publicae tempora et aliorum victoriam lugere.

25 Plura me ad te de hac re scribere pudet, ne videar prudentiae tuae diffidere. Quare, si hoc unum proposuero, finem faciam scribendi: Vidimus aliquotiens secundam pulcherrime te ferre fortunam magnamque ex ea re te laudem apisci; fac aliquando intellegamus adversam quoque te
30 aequae ferre posse, neque id maius, quam debeat, tibi onus videri, ne ex omnibus virtutibus haec una tibi videatur deesse.

Quod ad me attinet, cum te tranquillior animo esse cognoro, de iis rebus, quae hic geruntur, quem ad modumque se provincia habeat, certior faciam. Vale.

CXXXIV. M. CICERO S.D. SERV. SULPICIO. (ATTICUS'S FICULANEUM, MIDDLE OF APRIL, 45)

Ego vero, Servi, vellem, ut scribis, in meo gravissimo casu adfuisses; quantum enim praesens me adiuvere 5 potueris et consolando et prope aequè dolendo, facile ex eo intellego, quod litteris aliquantum adquievi. Nam et ea scripsisti, quae levare luctum possent, et in me consolando non mediocrem ipse animi dolorem adhibuisti. Servius tamen tuus omnibus officiis, quae illi tempori tribui 10 potuerunt, declaravit, et quanti ipse me faceret et quam suum talem erga me animum tibi gratum putaret fore. Cuius officia iucundiora scilicet saepe mihi fuerunt, nunquam tamen gratiora. Me autem non oratio tua solum et societas paene aegritudinis, sed etiam auctoritas conso- 15 latur; turpe enim esse existimo me non ita ferre casum meum, ut tu tali sapientia praeditus ferendum putas. Sed opprimor interdum et vix resisto dolori, quod ea me solacia deficiunt, quae ceteris, quorum mihi exempla propono, simili in fortuna non defuerunt. Nam et Q. Maxi- 20 mus, qui filium consularem, clarum virum et magnis rebus gestis, amisit, et L. Paullus, qui duo septem diebus, et vester Galus et M. Cato, qui summo ingenio, summa virtute filium perdidit, iis temporibus fuerunt, ut eorum luctum ipsorum dignitas consolaretur ea, quam ex re 25 publica consequebantur; (2) mihi autem amissis ornamentis iis, quae ipse commemoras, quaeque eram maximis laboribus adeptus, unum manebat illud solacium, quod ereptum est. Non amicorum negotiis, non rei publicae

procuracione impediabantur cogitationes meae, nihil in foro agere libebat, aspicere curiam non poteram, existimabam, id quod erat, omnis me et industriae meae fructus et fortunae perdidisse. Sed cum cogitarem haec mihi
 5 tecum et cum quibusdam esse communia, et cum frangerem iam ipse me cogeremque illa ferre toleranter, habebam, quo confugerem, ubi conquiescerem, cuius in sermone et suavitate omnis curas doloresque deponerem. Nunc autem hoc
 10 tam gravi vulnere etiam illa, quae consanuisse videbantur, recrudescent; non enim, ut tum me a re publica maestum domus excipiebat, quae levaret, sic nunc domo maerens ad rem publicam confugere possum, ut in eius bonis adquiescam. Itaque et domo absum et foro, quod nec eum dolorem, quem de re publica capio, domus iam consolari
 15 potest nec domesticum res publica.

(3) Quo magis te exspecto teque videre quam primum cupio; maius mihi solacium adferre ratio nulla potest quam coniunctio consuetudinis sermonumque nostrorum; quamquam sperabam tuum adventum — sic enim audie-
 20 bam — adpropinquare. Ego autem cum multis de causis te exopto quam primum videre, tum etiam ut ante commentemur inter nos, quâ ratione nobis traducendum sit hoc tempus, quod est totum ad unius voluntatem accommodandum et prudentis et liberalis et, ut perspexisse videor, nec a me
 25 alieni et tibi amicissimi. Quod cum ita sit, magnae tamen est deliberationis, quae ratio sit ineunda nos non agendi aliquid, sed illius concessu et beneficio quiescendi. Vale.

CXXXV. CICERO DOLABELLAE S. (ON ATTICUS'S
 VILLA AT FICULEA, NOT LONG AFTER APRIL 21, 45)

Vel meo ipsius interitu mallem litteras meas desiderares quam eo casu, quo sum gravissime adfflictus; quem ferrem

certe moderatius, si te haberem; nam et oratio tua prudens et amor erga me singularis multum levaret. Sed quoniam brevi tempore, ut opinio nostra est, te sum visurus, ita me adfectum offendes, ut multum a te possim iuvari; non quo ita sim fractus, ut aut hominem me esse oblitus sim aut 5 fortunae succumbendum putem, sed tamen hilaritas nostra et suavitas, quae te praeter ceteros delectabat, erepta mihi omnis est; firmitatem tamen et constantiam, si modo fuit aliquando in nobis, eandem cognosces quam reliquisti.

(2) Quod scribis proelia te mea causa sustinere, non tam 10 id laboro, ut, si qui mihi obtrectent, a te refutentur, quam intellegi cupio, quod certe intellegitur, me a te amari. Quod ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo, ignoscasque brevitati litterarum mearum; nam et celeriter una futuros nos arbitror et nondum satis sum confirmatus ad scribendum. 15

CXXXVI. M. CICERO S.D. L. LUCCEIO Q. F. (ASTURA,
MAY, 45)

Omnis amor tuus ex omnibus partibus se ostendit in iis litteris quas a te proxime accepi, non ille quidem mihi ignotus, sed tamen gratus et optatus — dicerem 'iucundus,' nisi id verbum in omne tempus perdidissem — neque ob eam unam causam, quam tu suspicaris et in qua me lenis-20 simis et amantissimis verbis utens re graviter accusas, sed quod, illius tanti vulneris quae remedia esse debebant, ea nulla sunt. (2) Quid enim? ad amicosne confugiam? Quam multi sunt? habuimus enim fere communis; quorum alii occiderunt, alii nescio quo pacto obduruerunt. Tecum 25 vivere possem equidem et maxime vellem; vetustas, amor, consuetudo, studia paria; quod vinclum, quaeso, dest nostrae coniunctionis? Possumusne igitur esse una? nec mehercule intellego quid impediat; sed certe adhuc non

fuius, cum essemus vicini in Tusculano, in Puteolano; nam quid dicam in urbe? in qua cum forum commune sit, vicinitas non requiritur. (3) Sed casu nescio quo in ea tempora nostra aetas incidit, ut, cum maxime florere nos
 5 oporteret, tum vivere etiam puderet. Quod enim esse poterat mihi perfugium spoliato et domesticis et forensibus ornamentis atque solaciis? Litterae, credo, quibus utor assidue; quid enim aliud facere possum? Sed nescio quo modo ipsae illae excludere me a portu et perfugio videntur
 10 et quasi exprobrare; quod in ea vita maneam, in qua nihil insit nisi propagatio miserrimi temporis. (4) Hic tu me abesse urbe miraris, in qua domus nihil delectare possit, summum sit odium temporum, hominum, fori, curiae? Itaque sic litteris utor, in quibus consumo omne tempus,
 15 non ut ab iis medicinam perpetuam, sed ut exiguam oblivionem doloris petam. (5) Quodsi id egissemus ego atque tu, quod ne in mentem nobis veniebat propter cotidianos metus, omne tempus una fuisset, neque me valetudo tua offenderet neque te maeror meus. Quod,
 20 quantum fieri poterit, consequamur; quid enim est utrique nostrum aptius? Propediem te igitur videbo.

CXXXVII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ASTURA, MAY 3, 45)

Fanum fieri volo, neque hoc mihi eripi potest. Sepulcri similitudinem effugere non tam propter poenam legis studeo, quam ut maxime adsequar ἀποθέωσιν. Quod poteram, si
 25 in ipsa villa facerem; sed, ut saepe locuti sumus, commutationes dominorum reformido. In agro ubicumque fecero, mihi videor adsequi posse, ut posteritas habeat religionem. Hae meae tibi ineptiae — fateor enim — ferendae sunt; nam habeo ne me quidem ipsum, quicum tam audacter
 30 communicem quam tecum. Sin tibi res, si locus, si insti-

tutum placet, lege, quaeso, legem mihiue eam mitte. Si quid in mentem veniet, quo modo eam effugere possimus, utemur.

(2) Ad Brutum si quid scribes, nisi alienum putabis, obiurgato eum, quod in Cumano esse noluerit propter eam 5 causam, quam tibi dixit. Cogitanti enim mihi nihil tam videtur potuisse facere rustice. Et, si tibi placebit sic agere de fano, ut coepimus, velim cohortere et exacuas Cluatium. Nam, etiamsi alio loco placebit, illius nobis opera consilioque utendum puto. Tu ad villam fortasse 10 eras.

CXXXVIII. SERVIUS CICERONI SAL. PLUR. (ATHENS,
MAY 31, 45)

Etsi scio non iucundissimum me nuntium vobis allaturum, tamen, quoniam casus et natura in nobis dominatur, visum est faciendum, quoquo modo res se haberet, vos certiores facere. A. d. X K. Iun. cum ab Epidaurum 15 Piraeum navi advectus essem, ibi Marcellum, conlegam nostrum, conveni eumque diem ibi consumpsi, ut cum eo essem. Postero die ab eo digressus sum eo consilio, ut ab Athenis in Boeotiam irem reliquamque iuris dictionem absolverem; ille, ut aiebat, supra Maleas in Italia 20 liam versus navigaturus erat. (2) Post diem tertium eius diei cum ab Athenis proficisci in animo haberem, circiter hora decima noctis P. Postumius, familiaris eius, ad me venit et mihi nuntiavit, M. Marcellum, collegam nostrum, post cenae tempus a P. Magio Cilone, familiari eius, pugione 25 percussum esse et duo vulnera accepisse, unum in stomacho, alterum in capite secundum aurem; sperari tamen eum vivere posse; Magium se ipsum interfecisse postea; se a Marcello ad me missum esse, qui haec nuntiaret et ro-

garet, uti medicos ei mitterem. Itaque medicos coegi et e vestigio eo sum profectus prima luce. Cum non longe a Piraeo abessem, puer Acidini obviam mihi venit cum codicillis, in quibus erat scriptum paulo ante lucem Mar-
 5 cellum suum diem obisse. Ita vir clarissimus ab homine deterrumo acerbissima morte est adfectus, et, cui inimici propter dignitatem pepercerant, inventus est amicus, qui ei mortem offerret. (3) Ego tamen ad tabernaculum eius perrexī. Inveni duos libertos et pauculos servos;
 10 reliquos aiebant profugisse metu perterritos, quod dominus eorum ante tabernaculum interfectus esset. Coactus sum in eadem illa lectica, qua ipse delatus eram, meisque lecticariis in urbem eum referre ibique pro ea copia, quae Athenis erat, funus ei satis amplum faciendum curavi.
 15 Ab Atheniensibus, locum sepulturae intra urbem ut darent, impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicerent, neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant. Quod proximum fuit, uti, in quo vellemus gymnasio, eum sepeli-
 20 remus, nobis permiserunt. Nos in nobilissimo orbi terrarum gymnasio Academiae locum delegimus ibique eum combussimus posteaque curavimus, ut eidem Athenienses in eodem loco monumentum ei marmoreum faciendum locarent. Ita, quae nostra officia fuerunt pro collegio et pro propinquitate, et vivo et mortuo omnia ei praestitimus.
 25 Vale. D. pr. K. Iun. Athenis.

CXXXIX. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ESTATE NEAR PUTEOLI, DECEMBER 21, 45)

O hospitem mihi tam gravem ἀμεταμέλητον! Fuit enim periucunde. Sed cum secundis Saturnalibus ad Philippum vesperi venisset, villa ita completa a militibus est, ut vix triclinium, ubi cenaturus ipse Caesar esset, vacaret, quippe

hominum ∞ ∞. Sane sum commotus, quid futurum esset postridie; ac mihi Barba Cassius subvenit, custodes dedit. Castra in agro, villa defensa est. Ille tertiis Saturnalibus apud Philippum ad h. VII nec quemquam admisit; rationes, opinor, cum Balbo. Inde ambulavit in litore. Post h. VIII in balneum. Unctus est, accubuit. Ἐμετικὴν agebat. Itaque et edit et bibit ἀδεῶς et iucunde, opipare sane et apparate nec id solum, sed

‘bene cocto et
condito sermone bono et, si quaeri(s), libenter’

10

(2) Praeterea tribus tricliniis accepti οἱ περὶ αὐτόν valde copiose. Libertis minus lautis servisque nihil defuit. Nam lautiores eleganter accepi. Quid multa? homines visi sumus. Hospes tamen non is cui diceret: ‘Amabo te eodem ad me, cum revertere.’ Semel satis est. 15 Σπουδαῖον οὐδέν in sermone, φιλόλογα multa. Quid quaeris? delectatus est et libenter fuit. Puteolis se aiebat unum diem fore, alterum ad Baias.

Habes hospitium sive ἐπισταθμεῖαν odiosam mihi, dixi, non molestam. Ego paulisper hic, deinde in Tusculanum. 20 Dolabellae villam cum praeteriret, omnia armatorum copia dextra, sinistra ad equum nec usquam alibi. Hoc ex Nicia.

CXL. CICERO CURIO S.D. (ROME, BEGINNING OF JANUARY, 44)

Ego vero te nec hortor nec rogo, ut domum redeas; quin hinc ipse evolare cupio et aliquo pervenire,

‘ubi nec Pélopidarum nómen nec facta aúdiam.’

25

Incredibilest, quam turpiter mihi facere videar, qui his rebus intersim. Ne tu videris multo ante providisse, quid im-

penderet, tum cum hinc profugisti. Quamquam haec etiam
 auditu acerba sunt, tamen audire tolerabilius est quam vi-
 dere. In campo certe non fuisti, cum hora secunda comitiis
 quaestoriis institutis sella Q. Maximi, quem illi consulem
 5 esse dicebant, posita esset; quo mortuo nuntiato sella
 sublatast. Ille autem, qui comitiis tributis esset auspica-
 tus, centuriata habuit, consulem hora septima renuntiavit,
 qui usque ad K. Ian. esset, quae erant futurae mane pos-
 tridie. Ita Caninio consule scito neminem prandisse. Nihil
 10 tamen eo consule mali factum est; fuit enim mirifica vigi-
 lantia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit.
 (2) Haec tibi ridicula videntur; non enim ades. Quae si
 videres, lacrimas non teneres. Quid, si cetera scribam?
 sunt enim innumerabilia generis eiusdem; quae quidem
 15 ego non ferrem, nisi me in philosophiae portum contulis-
 sem et nisi haberem socium studiorum meorum Atticum
 nostrum. Cuius quoniam proprium te esse scribis mancipio
 et nexu, meum autem usu et fructu, contentus isto sum.
 Id enim est cuiusque proprium, quo quisque fruitur et uti-
 20 tur. Sed haec alias pluribus.

(3) Acilius, qui in Graeciam cum legionibus missus est,
 maximo meo beneficio est — bis enim est a me iudicio capitis
 rebus salvis defensus — et est homo non ingratus meque
 vehementer observat. Ad eum de te diligentissime scripsi
 25 eamque epistulam cum hac epistula coniunxi. Quam ille
 quo modo acceperit et quid tibi pollicitus sit, velim ad me
 scribas.

CXLI. CICERO BASILO SAL. (ROME, MARCH 15, 44)

Tibi gratulor, mihi gaudeo; te amo, tua tueor; a te
 amari et, quid agas quidque agatur, certior fieri volo.

CXLII. D. BRUTUS BRUTO SUO ET CASSIO S. (ROME,
MARCH 17, 44)

Quo in statu simus cognoscite. Heri vesperi apud me Hirtius fuit ; qua mente esset Antonius demonstravit, pessima scilicet et infidelissima. Nam se neque mihi provinciam dare posse aiebat neque arbitrari tuto in urbe esse quemquam nostrum ; adeo esse militum concitados animos et 5 plebis. Quod utrumque esse falsum puto vos animadvertere atque illud esse verum, quod Hirtius demonstrabat, timere eum, ne, si mediocre auxilium dignitatis nostrae habuissemus, nullae partes iis in re p. relinquerentur.

(2) Cum in his angustiis versarer, placitum est mihi ut postularem legationem liberam mihi reliquisque nostris, ut aliqua causa proficiscendi honesta quaereretur. Haec se impetraturum pollicitus est, nec tamen impetraturum con- fido ; tanta est hominum insolentia et nostri insectatio. Ac si dederint quod petimus, tamen paulo post futurum 15 puto ut hostes iudicemur, aut aqua et igni nobis interdatur. (3) 'Quid ergo est,' inquis, 'tui consilii?' Dandus est locus fortunae, cedendum ex Italia, migrandum Rhodum aut aliquo terrarum arbitror. Si melior casus fuerit, revertemur Romam ; si mediocris, in exilio vive- 20 mus ; si pessimus, ad novissima auxilia descendemus.

(4) Succurret fortasse hoc loco alicui vestrum, cur novissimum tempus exspectemus potius quam nunc aliquid moliamur. Quia, ubi consistamus, non habemus praeter Sex. Pompeium et Bassum Caecilium ; qui mihi videntur 25 hoc nuntio de Caesare allato firmiores futuri. Satis tempore ad eos accedemus, ubi quid valeant scierimus. Pro Cassio et te, si quid me velitis recipere, recipiam ; postulat enim hoc Hirtius ut faciam. (5) Rogo vos, quam primum mihi rescribatis — nam non dubito, quin de his 30

rebus ante horam quartam Hirtius certiore me sit facturur; — quem in locum convenire possimus, quo me velitis venire, rescribite.

(6) Post novissimum Hirti sermonem placitum est mihi 5 postulare ut liceret nobis Romae esse publico praesidio. Quod illos nobis concessuros non puto; magnam enim invidiam iis faciemus. Nihil tamen non postulandum putavi quod aequum esse statuerem.

CXLIII. CICERO DOLABELLAE CONSULI SUO S.

(POMPEII, MAY 3, 44)

Etsi contentus eram, mi Dolabella, tua gl'oria satisque
 10 ex ea magnam laetitiam voluptatemque capiebam, tamen
 non possum non confiteri cumulari me maximo gaudio,
 quod vulgo hominum opinio socium me adscribat tuis
 laudibus. Neminem conveni — convenio autem cotidie
 plurimos; sunt enim permulti optimi viri qui valetudinis
 15 causa in haec loca veniant, praeterea ex municipiis fre-
 quentes necessarii mei — quin omnes, cum te summis
 laudibus ad caelum extulerunt, mihi continuo maximas
 gratias agant; negant enim se dubitare, quin tu meis
 praeceptis et consiliis obtemperans praestantissimum te
 20 civem et singularem consulem praebeas. (2) Quibus ego
 quamquam verissime possum respondere te, quae facias,
 tuo iudicio et tua sponte facere nec cuiusquam egere con-
 silio, tamen neque plane adsentior, ne imminuam tuam
 laudem, si omnis a meis consiliis profecta videatur, neque
 25 valde nego; sum enim avidior etiam quam satis est gloriae;
 et tamen non alienum est dignitate tua, quod ipsi Agamem-
 noni, regum regi, fuit honestum, habere aliquem in con-
 siliis capiendis Nestorem, mihi vero gloriosum te iuvenem
 consulem florere laudibus quasi alumnum disciplinae meae.

(3) L. quidem Caesar, cum ad eum aegrotum Neapolim venissem, quamquam erat oppressus totius corporis doloribus, tamen, antequam me plane salutavit, 'O mi Cicero,' inquit, 'gratulor tibi, cum tantum vales apud Dolabellam, quantum si ego apud sororis filium valerem, iam salvi esse 5 possemus; Dolabellae vero tuo et gratulor et gratias ago, quem quidem post te consulem solum possumus vere consulem dicere.' Deinde multa de facto ac de re gesta, nihil magnificentius, nihil praeclarius actum umquam, nihil rei p. salutaris. Atque haec una vox omnium est. (4) A 10 te autem peto, ut me hanc quasi falsam hereditatem alienae gloriae sinas cernere meque aliqua ex parte in societatem tuarum laudum venire patiari. Quamquam, mi Dolabella — haec enim iocatus sum — libentius omnis meas, si modo sunt aliquae meae laudes, ad te transfuderim quam 15 aliquam partem exhauserim ex tuis. Nam cum te semper tantum dilexerim, quantum tu intellegere potuisti, tum his tuis factis sic incensus sum, ut nihil umquam in amore fuerit ardentius. Nihil est enim, mihi crede, virtute formosius, nihil pulchrius, nihil amabilius. (5) Semper 20 amavi ut scis, M. Brutum propter eius summum ingenium, suavissimos mores, singularem probitatem atque constantiam; tamen Idibus Martiis tantum accessit ad amorem, ut mirarer locum fuisse augendi in eo quod mihi iam pridem cumlatum etiam videbatur. Quis erat, qui putaret ad 25 eum amorem quem erga te habebam, posse aliquid accedere? Tantum accessit, ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea dilexisse. (6) Quare quid est, quod ego te horter, ut dignitati et gloriae servias? proponam tibi claros viros, quod facere solent qui hortantur? Neminem habeo 30 clariorem quam te ipsum; te imitare oportet, tecum ipse certes; ne licet quidem tibi iam tantis rebus gestis non

tui similem esse. (7) Quod cum ita sit, hortatio non est necessaria, gratulatione magis utendum est; contigit enim tibi, quod haud scio an nemini, ut summa severitas animadversionis non modo non invidiosa, sed etiam popularis
 5 esset et cum bonis omnibus tum infimo cuique gratissima. Hoc si tibi fortuna quadam contigisset, gratularer felicitati tuae; sed contigit magnitudine cum animi tum etiam ingenii atque consilii. Legi enim contionem tuam; nihil illa sapientius; ita pedetemptim et gradatim tum ac-
 10 cessus a te ad causam facti, tum recessus, ut res ipsa maturitatem tibi animadvertendi omnium concessu daret. (8) Liberasti igitur et urbem periculo et civitatem metu neque solum ad tempus maximam utilitatem attulisti, sed etiam ad exemplum. Quo facto intellegere debes in
 15 te positam esse rem p. tibi que non modo tuendos, sed etiam ornandos esse illos viros, a quibus initium libertatis profectum est. Sed his de rebus coram plura propediem, ut spero. Tu quoniam rem p. nosque conservas, fac ut diligentissime te ipsum, mi Dolabella, custodias.

CXLIV. CICERO CASSIO S. (POMPEII, MAY 3, 44)

20 Finem nullam facio, mihi crede, Cassi, de te et Bruto nostro, id est de tota re p., cogitandi, cuius omnis spes in vobis est et in D. Bruto; quam quidem iam habeo ipse meliorem re publica a Dolabella meo praeclarissime gesta. Manabat enim illud malum urbanum et ita corroborabatur
 25 cotidie, ut ego quidem et urbi et otio diffiderem urbano, sed ita compressum est, ut mihi videamur omne iam ad tempus ab illo dumtaxat sordidissimo periculo tuti futuri. Reliqua magna sunt ac multa, sed posita omnia in vobis. Quamquam primum quicque explicemus. Nam, ut ad-
 30 huc quidem actum est, non regno, sed rege liberati videmur;

interfecto enim rege regios omnis nutus tuemur, neque vero id solum, sed etiam, quae ipse ille, si viveret, non faceret, ea nos quasi cogitata ab illo probamus. Nec eius quidem rei finem video. Tabulae figuntur, immunitates dantur, pecuniae maximae describuntur, exules 5 reducuntur, senatus consulta falsa deferuntur, ut tantum modo odium illud hominis impuri et servitutis dolor depulsus esse videatur, res p. iaceat in iis perturbationibus, in quas eam ille coniecit.

(2) Haec omnia vobis sunt expedienda, nec hoc cogi- 10 tandum, satis iam habere rem p. a vobis. Habet illa quidem tantum, quantum numquam mihi in mentem venit optare, sed contenta non est et pro magnitudine et animi et beneficii vestri a vobis magna desiderat. Adhuc ulta suas iniurias est per vos interitu tyranni; nihil amplius, 15 ornamenta vero sua quae recipavit? an quod ei mortuo paret, quem vivum non ferre poterat? Cuius aera refigere debebamus, eius etiam chirographa defendimus? At enim ita decrevimus. Fecimus id quidem temporibus cedentes, quae valent in re p. plurimum; sed immoderate 20 quidam et ingrate nostra facilitate abutuntur. Verum haec propediem et multa alia coram; interim velim sic tibi persuadeas, mihi cum rei p., quam semper habui carissimam, tum amoris nostri causa maximae curae esse tuam dignitatem. Da operam ut valeas. Vale. 25

CXLV. TREBONIUS CICERONI S. (ATHENS, MAY 25, 44)

S.v.b. Athenas veni a.d. XI K. Jun. atque ibi, quod maxime optabam, vidi filium tuum deditum optimis studiis summaque modestiae fama. Qua ex re quantam voluptatem ceperim scire poteris etiam me tacente; non enim

nescis quanti te faciam et quam pro nostro veterrimo verissimoque amore omnibus tuis etiam minimis commodis, non modo tanto bono gaudeam. Noli putare, mi Cicero, me hoc auribus tuis dare; nihil adulescente tuo
 5 atque adeo nostro — nihil enim mihi a te potest esse seiunctum — aut amabilius omnibus iis, qui Athenis sunt, est aut studiosius earum artium quas tu maxime amas, hoc est optimarum. Itaque tibi, quod vere facere possum, libenter quoque gratulor nec minus etiam nobis, quod eum,
 10 quem necesse erat diligere, qualiscumque esset, talem habemus, ut lubenter quoque diligamus.

(2) Qui cum mihi in sermone iniecisset se velle Asiam visere, non modo invitatus, sed etiam rogatus est a me, ut id potissimum nobis obtinentibus provinciam faceret;
 15 cui nos et caritate et amore tuum officium praestatueros non debes dubitare. Illud quoque erit nobis curae, ut Cratippus una cum eo sit, ne putes in Asia feriatum illum ab iis studiis, in quae tua cohortatione incitatur, futurum; nam illum paratum, ut video, et ingressum pleno gradu
 20 cohortari non intermitteremus, quo in dies longius discendo exercendoque se procedat.

(3) Vos quid ageretis in re p., cum has litteras dabam, non sciebam; audiebam quaedam turbulenta, quae scilicet cupio esse falsa, ut aliquando otiosa libertate fruamur;
 25 quod vel minime mihi adhuc contigit. Ego tamen nactus in navigatione nostra pusillum laxamenti concinnavi tibi munusculum ex instituto meo et dictum cum magno nostro honore a te dictum conclusi et tibi infra subscripsi. In quibus versiculis si tibi quibusdam verbis *εὐθυρρημος*
 30 *νέστερος* videbor, turpitudine personae eius, in quam liberius invehimur, nos vindicabit. Ignosces etiam iracundiae nostrae, quae iustast in eius modi et homines et civis.

Deinde qui magis hoc Lucilio licuerit adsumere libertatis quam nobis? cum, etiamsi odio pari fuerit in eos quos laesit, tamen certe non magis dignos habuerit, in quos tanta libertate verborum incurreret. (4) Tu, sicut mihi pollicitus es, adiunges me quam primum ad tuos sermones; 5 namque illud non dubito, quin, si quid de interitu Caesaris scribas, non patiaris me minimam partem et rei et amoris tui ferre. Vale et matrem meosque tibi commendatos habe. D. VIII K. Iun. Athenis.

CXLVI. CICERO TREBATIO S. (TUSCULUM, PROBABLY
JUNE, 44)

Inluseras heri inter scyphos, quod dixeram controver- 10
siam esse, possetne heres, quod furtum antea factum es-
set, furti recte agere. Itaque, etsi domum bene potus
seroque redieram, tamen id caput, ubi haec controversia
est, notavi et descriptum tibi misi, ut scires id, quod tu
neminem sensisse dicebas, Sex. Aelium, M'. Manilium, 15
M. Brutum sensisse. Ego tamen Scaevolae et Testae
adsentior.

CXLVII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ANTIUM, JUNE 8, 44)

Antium veni a.d. VI Idus. Bruto iucundus noster ad-
ventus. Deinde multis audientibus, Servilia, Tertulla,
Porcia quaerere, quid placeret. Aderat etiam Favonius. 20
Ego, quod eram meditatus in via, suadere, ut uteretur
Asiatica curatione frumenti; nihil esse iam reliqui, quod
ageremus, nisi ut salvus esset; in eo etiam ipsi rei publicae
esse praesidium. Quam orationem cum ingressus essem,
Cassius intervenit. Ego eadem illa repetivi. Hoc loco 25
fortibus sane oculis Cassius — Martem spirare diceret —
se in Siciliam non iturum. 'Egone ut beneficium accepis-

sem contumeliam?' 'Quid ergo agis?' inquam. At ille in Achaïam se iturum. 'Quid tu,' inquam, 'Brute?' 'Romam,' inquit, 'si tibi videtur.' 'Mihi vero minime; tuto enim non eris.'- 'Quid? si possem esse, placeretne?'
 5 'Atque ut omnino neque nunc neque ex praetura in provinciam ires; sed auctor non sum, ut te urbi committas.' Dicebam ea, quae tibi profecto in mentem veniunt, cur non esset tuto futurus. (2) Multo inde sermone querebantur, atque id quidem Cassius maxime, amissas occa-
 10 siones Decimumque graviter accusabant. Ego negabam oportere praeterita, adsentiebar tamen. Cumque ingressus essem dicere, quid oportuisset, nec vero quicquam novi, sed ea, quae cotidie omnes, nec tamen illum locum attingerem, quemquam praeterea oportuisse tangi, sed
 15 senatum vocari, populum ardentem studio vehementius incitari, totam suscipi rem publicam, exclamat tua familiaris: 'Hoc vero neminem umquam audiivi!' Ego repressi. Sed et Cassius mihi videbatur iturus — etenim Servilia pollicebatur se curaturam, ut illa frumenti curatio
 20 de senatus consulto tolleretur — et noster cito deiectus est de illo inani sermone, quo Romae velle esse dixerat. Constituit igitur, ut ludi absente se fierent suo nomine. Proficisci autem mihi in Asiam videbatur ab Antio velle.
 (3) Ne multa, nihil me in illo itinere praeter conscientiam
 25 meam delectavit. Non enim fuit committendum, ut ille ex Italia, priusquam a me conventus esset, discederet. Hoc dempto munere amoris atque officii sequebatur, ut mecum ipse:

‘*Ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς σοι τί δύναται νῦν, θεοπρόπε;*’

Prorsus dissolutum offendi navigium vel potius dissipatum.
 30 Nihil consilio, nihil ratione, nihil ordine. Itaque, etsi ne

antea quidem dubitavi, tamen nunc eo minus evolare hinc idque quam primum,

‘ubi nec Pélopidarum fácta neque famam aúdiam.’

(4) Et heus tu ! ne forte sis nescius, Dolabella me sibi legavit a.d. IIII Nonas. Id mihi heri vesperi nuntiatum 5 est. Votiva ne tibi quidem placebat ; etenim erat absurdum, quae, si stetisset res publica, vovissem, ea me eversa illa vota dissolvere. Et habent, opinor, liberae legationes definitum tempus lege Iulia, nec facile addi potest. Aveo genus legationis, ut, cum velis, introire, exire liceat ; quod 10 nunc mihi additum est. Bella est autem huius iuris quinquennii licentia. Quamquam quid de quinquennio cogitem ? Contrahi mihi negotium videtur. Sed βλάβος φημι mittamus.

CXLVIII. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (ESTATE NEAR PUTEOLI, JULY 9, 44)

Tuas iam litteras Brutus expectabat. Cui quidem ego 15 non novum attuleram de Tereo Acci. Ille Brutum putabat. Sed tamen rumoris nescio quid adflaverat commissione Graecorum frequentiam non fuisse ; quod quidem me minime fefellit ; seīs enim, quid ego de Graecis ludis existimem. 20

(2) Nunc audi, quod pluris est quam omnia. Quintus fuit mecum dies complures, et, si ego cuperem, ille vel plures fuisset ; sed, quam diu fuit, incredibile est, quam me in omni genere delectarit in eoque maxime, in quo minime satis faciebat. Sic enim commutatus est totus et 25 scriptis meis quibusdam, quae in manibus habebam, et adsiduitate orationis et praeceptis, ut tali animo in rem publicam, quali nos volumus, futurus sit. Hoc cum mihi

non modo confirmasset, sed etiam persuasisset, egit mecum accurate multis verbis, tibi ut sponderem se dignum et te et nobis futurum; neque se postulare, ut statim crederes, sed cum ipse perspexisses, tum ut se amares.

5 Quod nisi fidem mihi fecisset, iudicassemque hoc, quod dico, firmum fore, non fecissem id, quod dicturus sum. Duxi enim mecum adolescentem ad Brutum. Sic ei probatum est, quod ad te scribo, ut ipse crediderit, me sponsorem accipere noluerit eumque laudans amicissime men-

10 tionem tui fecerit, complexus osculatusque dimiserit. Quam ob rem, etsi magis est, quod gratuler tibi, quam quod te rogem, tamen etiam rogo, ut, si quae minus antea propter infirmitatem aetatis constanter ab eo fieri videbantur, ea iudices illum abiecis-
 15 se mihique credas multum allaturam vel plurimum potius ad illius iudicium confirmandum auctoritatem tuam.

(3) Bruto cum saepe iniecissem de ὁμοπλοΐα, non perinde atque ego putaram, arripere visus est. Existimabam μετεωρότερον esse, et hercule erat et maxime de ludis.

20 At mihi, cum ad villam redissem, Cn. Lucceius, qui multum utitur Bruto, narravit illum valde morari non tergiversantem, sed expectantem, si qui forte casus. Itaque dubito, an Venusiam tendam et ibi expectem de legionibus. Si aberunt, ut quidam arbitrantur, Hydruntem, si neutrum erit ἀσφαλές, eodem revertar. Iocari me putas?

Moriar, si quisquam me tenet praeter te. Etenim circumspice, sed antequam erubesco. (4) O dies in auspiciis Lepidi lepide descriptos et apte ad consilium reditus nostri! Magna ῥοπή ad proficiscendum in tuis litteris.

30 Atque utinam te illic! Sed ut conducere putabis.

(5) Nepotis epistulam exspecto. Cupidus ille meorum? qui ea, quibus maxime γανριῶ, legenda non putet. Et

ais 'μετ' ἀμόμωνα' ! Tu vero 'ἀμόμων,' ille quidem 'ἄμβροτος.' Mearum epistularum nulla est συναγωγή; sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta; et quidem sunt a te quaedam sumendae. Eas ego oportet perspiciam, corrigam. Tum denique edentur.

5

CXLIX. CICERO ATTICO SAL. (VIBO, JULY 25, 44)

Ego adhuc — perveni enim Vibonem ad Siccam — magis commode quam strenue navigavi; remis enim magnam partem, prodromi nulli. Illud satis opportune, duo sinus fuerunt, quos tramitti oporteret, Paestanus et Vibonensis. Utrumque pedibus aequis tramisimus. Veni igitur ad Siccam octavo die e Pompeiano, cum unum diem Veliae constitissem. Ubi quidem fui sane libenter apud Talnam nostrum nec potui accipi, illo absente praesertim, liberalius. VIII Kal. igitur ad Siccam. Ibi tamquam domi meae scilicet. Itaque obduxi posterum diem. Sed 10 putabam, cum Regium venissem, fore ut illic 'δολιχὸν πλόον ὁρμαίνοντες' cogitarem, corbitane Patras an actuariolis ad Leucopetras Tarentinorum atque inde Corcyram et, si oneraria, statimne freto an Syracusis. Hac super re scribam ad te Regio.

20

(2) Mehercule, mi Attice, saepe mecum :

'Ἡ δειῦρ' ὁδὸς σοι τί δύναται;'

Cur ego tecum non sum? cur ocellos Italiae, villulas meas, non video? Sed id satis superque, tecum me non esse, quid fugientem? periculumne? At id nunc quidem, nisi 25 fallor, nullum est. Ad ipsum enim revocat me auctoritas tua; scribis enim in caelum ferri profectionem meam, sed ita, si ante K. Ianuar. redeam; quod quidem certe enitar. Malo enim vel cum timore domi esse quam sine

timore Athenis tuis. Sed tamen perspice, quo ista ver-
gant, mihiq̄ue aut scribe aut, quod multo malim, adfer
ipse. Haec hactenus.

(3) Illud velim in bonam partem accipias me agere
5 tecum, quod tibi maiori curae sciam esse quam ipsi mihi.
Nomina mea, per deos, expedi, exsolve. Bella reliqua
reliqui; sed opus est diligentia, coheredibus pro Cluviano
Kal. Sextil. persolutum ut sit. Cum Publilio quo modo
agendum sit, videbis. Non debet urgere, quoniam iure
10 non utimur. Sed tamen ei quoque satis fieri plane volo.
Terentiae vero quid ego dicam? Etiam ante diem, si
potes. Quin, si, ut spero, celeriter in Epirum, hoc, quod
satis dato debeo, peto a te ut ante provideas planeque
expedias et solutum relinquo. Sed de his satis, metuo-
15 que, ne tu nimium putes.

(4) Nunc negligentiam meam cognosce. 'De Gloria'
librum ad te misi. At in eo prooemium idem est quod in
Academico tertio. Id evenit ob eam rem, quod habeo
volumen prooemiorum. Ex eo eligere soleo, cum aliquod
20 *σίγγραμμα* institui. Itaque iam in Tusculano, qui non
meminissem me abusum isto prooemio, conieci id in eum
librum, quem tibi misi. Cum autem in navi legerem
Academicos, adgnovi erratum meum. Itaque statim
novum prooemium exaravi et tibi misi. Tu illud dese-
25 cabis, hoc adglutinabis. Piliae salutem dices et Atticae,
deliciis atque amoribus meis.

CL. M. CICERO MATIO S. (TUSCULUM, BETWEEN AUGUST
23 AND 30, 44)

Nondum satis constitui molestiae plus an voluptatis
attulerit mihi Trebatius noster, homo cum plenus officii
tum utriusque nostrum amantissimus. Nam cum in Tus-

culanum vesperi venissem, postridie ille ad me, nondum satis firmo corpore cum esset, mane venit. Quem cum obiurgarem, quod parum valetudini parceret, tum ille nihil sibi longius fuisse quam ut me videret. 'Numquidnam,' inquam, 'novi?' Detulit ad me querelam tuam. De qua 5 priusquam respondeo, pauca proponam.

(2) Quantum memoria repetere praeterita possum, nemo est mihi te amicus antiquior. Sed vetustas habet aliquid commune cum multis, amor non habet. Dilexi te, quo die cognovi, meque a te diligere iudicavi. Tuus deinde 10 discessus, isque diuturnus, ambitio nostra et vitae dissimilitudo non est passa voluntates nostras consuetudine conglutinari; tuum tamen erga me animum adgnovi multis annis ante bellum civile, cum Caesar esset in Gallia. Quod enim vementer mihi utile esse putabas nec inutile ipsi 15 Caesari, perfecisti ut ille me diligeret, coleret, haberet in suis. Multa praetereo, quae temporibus illis inter nos familiarissime dicta, scripta, communicata sint; graviora enim consecuta sunt. (3) Et initio belli civilis cum Brundisium versus ires ad Caesarem, venisti ad me in Formi- 20 anum. Primum hoc ipsum quanti, praesertim temporibus illis! Deinde oblitum me putas consilii, sermonis, humanitatis tuae? quibus rebus interesse memini Trebatium. Nec vero sum oblitus litterarum tuarum, quas ad me misisti, cum Caesari obviam venisses in agro, ut 25 arbitror, Trebulano. (4) Secutum illud tempus est, cum me ad Pompeium proficisci sive pudor meus cogit sive officium sive fortuna. Quod officium tuum, quod studium vel in absentem me vel in praesentis meos defuit? quem porro omnes mei et mihi et sibi te amiciores iudicave- 30 runt? Veni Brundisium. Oblitumne me putas, qua celeritate, ut primum audieris, ad me Tarento advolaris,

quae tua fuerit adsessio, oratio, confirmatio animi mei fracti communium miseriarum metu? (5) Tandem aliquando Romae esse coepimus. Quid defuit nostrae familiaritati? In maximis rebus quonam modo gererem me
5 adversus Caesarem usus tuo consilio sum, in reliquis officio. Cui tu tribuisti excepto Caesare praeter me, ut domum ventitares horasque multas saepe suavissimo sermone consumeres, tum cum etiam, si meministi, ut haec φιλοσοφούμενα scriberem, tu me impulisti? Post Caesaris
10 redditum quid tibi maiori curae fuit quam ut essem ego illi quam familiarissimus? quod effeceras.

(6) Quorsum igitur haec oratio longior quam putaram? Quia sum admiratus te, qui haec nosse deberes, quicquam a me commissum, quod esset alienum nostra amicitia,
15 credidisse. Nam praeter haec, quae commemoravi, quae testata sunt et inlustria, habeo multa occultiora, quae vix verbis exsequi possum. Omnia me tua delectant, sed maxime maxima cum fides in amicitia, consilium, gravitas, constantia, tum lepos, humanitas, litterae.

(7) Quapropter — redeo nunc ad querelam — ego te suffragium tulisse in illa lege primum non credidi; deinde, si credidissem, numquam id sine aliqua iusta causa existimarem te fecisse. Dignitas tua facit ut animadvertatur, quicquid facias, malevolentia autem hominum, ut non
25 nulla durius, quam a te facta sint, proferantur. Ea tu si non audis, quid dicam nescio; equidem, si quando audio, tam defendo, quam me scio a te contra iniquos meos solere defendi. Defensio autem est duplex; alia sunt, quae liquido negare soleam, ut de isto ipso suffragio, alia, quae
30 defendam a te pie fieri et humane, ut de curatione ludorum.

(8) Sed te, hominem doctissimum, non fugit, si Caesar rex fuerit — quod mihi quidem videtur — in utramque

partem de tuo officio disputari posse, vel in eam, qua ego soleo uti, laudandam esse fidem et humanitatem tuam, qui amicum etiam mortuum diligas, vel in eam, qua non nulli utuntur, libertatem patriae vitae amici anteponendam. Ex his sermonibus utinam essent delatae ad te disputationes meae! Illa vero duo, quae maxima sunt laudum tuarum, quis aut libentius quam ego commemorat aut saepius, te et non suscipiendi belli civilis gravissimum auctorem fuisse et moderandae victoriae? in quo qui mihi non adsentiretur inveni neminem. Quare habeo gratiam 10 Trebatio, familiari nostro, qui mihi dedit causam harum litterarum; quibus nisi credideris, me omnis officii et humanitatis expertem iudicaris; quo nec mihi gravius quicquam potest esse nec te alienius.

CLI. MATIUS CICERONI S. (ROME, SHORTLY AFTER
THE PRECEDING LETTER)

Magnam voluptatem ex tuis litteris cepi, quod, quam 15 speraram atque optaram, habere te de me opinionem cognovi; de qua etsi non dubitabam, tamen, quia maximi aestimabam, ut incorrupta maneret laborabam. Conscius autem mihi eram nihil a me commissum esse, quod boni cuiusquam offenderet animum. Eo minus credebam 20 plurimis atque optimis artibus ornato tibi temere quicquam persuaderi potuisse, praesertim in quem mea propensa et perpetua fuisset atque esset benevolentia. Quod quoniam, ut volui, scio esse, respondebo criminibus, quibus tu pro me, ut par erat tua singulari bonitate et ami- 25 citia nostra, saepe restitisti.

(2) Nota enim mihi sunt, quae in me post Caesaris mortem contulerint. Vitio mihi dant, quod mortem hominis necessarij graviter fero atque eum quem dilexi perisse in-

dignor; aiunt enim patriam amicitiae praeponendam esse, proinde ac si iam vicerint obitum eius rei p. fuisse utilem. Sed non agam astute; fateor me ad istum gradum sapientiae non pervenisse; neque enim Caesarem in
5 dissensione civili sum secutus, sed amicum; quamquam re offendebar, tamen non deserui, neque bellum umquam civile aut etiam causam dissensionis probavi, quam etiam nascentem exstingui summe studui. Itaque in victoria hominis necessariii neque honoris neque pecuniae dul-
10 cedere sum captus, quibus praemiis reliqui, minus apud eum quam ego cum possent, immoderate sunt abusi. Atque etiam res familiaris mea lege Caesaris deminuta est, cuius beneficio plerique, qui Caesaris morte laetantur, remanserunt in civitate. Civibus victis ut parceretur aequae
15 ac pro mea salute laboravi.

(3) Possum igitur, qui omnis voluerim incolumis, eum, a quo id impetratum est, perisse non indignari? cum praesertim idem homines illi et invidiae et exitio fuerint. 'Plecteris ergo,' inquiunt, 'quoniam factum nostrum
20 improbare audes.' O superbiam inauditam alios in facinore gloriari, aliis ne dolere quidem impunito licere! At haec etiam servis semper libera fuerunt, ut timerent, gauderent, dolerent suo potius quam alterius arbitrio; quae nunc, ut quidem isti dictitant, 'libertatis auctores'
25 metu nobis extorquere conantur. (4) Sed nihil agunt; nullius umquam periculi terroribus ab officio aut ab humanitate desciscam; numquam enim honestam mortem fugiendam, saepe etiam oppetendam putavi. Sed quid mihi suscensent, si id opto, ut paeniteat eos sui facti? Cupio
30 enim Caesaris mortem omnibus esse acerbam.

At debeo pro civili parte rem p. velle salvam. Id quidem me cupere, nisi et ante acta vita et reliqua mea spes tacente

me probat, dicendo vincere non postulo. (5) Quare maiorem in modum te rogo, ut rem potiolem oratione ducas mihiq̄ue, si sentis expedire recte fieri, credas nullam communionem cum improbis esse posse. An, quod adulescens praestiti, cum etiam errare cum excusatione possem, id nunc aetate praecipitata commutem ac me ipse retexam? Non faciam neque quod displiceat committam praeterquam quod hominis mihi coniunctissimi ac viri amplissimi doleo gravem casum. Quodsi aliter essem animatus, numquam, quod facerem, negarem, ne et in peccando improbus et in dissimulando timidus ac vanus existimarer.

(6) At ludos, quod Caesaris victoriae Caesar adulescens fecit, curavi. At id ad privatum officium, non ad statum rei p. pertinet; quod tamen munus et hominis amicissimi memoriae atque honoribus praestare etiam mortui debui et optimae spei adulescenti ac dignissimo Caesare petenti negare non potui. (7) Veni etiam consulis Antoni domum saepe salutandi causa; ad quem, qui me parum patriae amantem esse existimant, rogandi quidem aliquid aut auferendi causa frequentis ventitare reperies. Sed quae haec est adrogantia, quod Caesar numquam interpellavit, quin, quibus vellem, atque etiam quos ipse non diligebat, tamen iis uterer, eos, qui mihi amicum eripuerunt, carpando me efficere conari, ne quos velim diligam?

(8) Sed non vereor, ne aut meae vitae modestia parum valitura sit in posterum contra falsos rumores, aut ne etiam ii, qui me non amant propter meam in Caesarem constantiam, non malint mei quam sui similis amicos habere. Mihi quidem si optata contingent, quod reliquum est vitae, in otio Rhodi degam; sin casus aliquis interpellarit, ita ero Romae, ut recte fieri semper cupiam. Tre-

batio nostro magnas ago gratias, quod tuum erga me animum simplicem atque amicum aperuit et quod eum quem semper lubenter dilexi, quo magis iure colere atque observare deberem, fecit. Bene vale et me dilige.

CLII. CICERO F. TIRONI SUO DULCISSIMO S. (ATHENS,
BETWEEN AUGUST AND OCTOBER, 44)

5 Cum vehementer tabellarios exspectarem cotidie, aliquando venerunt post diem quadragensimum et sextum quam a vobis discesserunt. Quorum mihi fuit adventus optatissimus; nam cum maximam cepissem laetitiam ex humanissimi et carissimi patris epistula, tum vero iucundissimae tuae litterae cumulum mihi gaudii attulerunt. Itaque me iam non paenitebat intercapedinem scribendi fecisse, sed potius laetabar; fructum enim magnum humanitatis tuae capiebam ex silentio mearum litterarum. Vementer igitur gaudeo te meam sine dubitatione accepisse
15 excusationem.

(2) Gratos tibi optatosque esse, qui de me rumores adferuntur, non dubito, mi dulcissime Tiro, praestaboque et enitar, ut in dies magis magisque haec nascens de me duplicetur opinio. Quare, quod polliceris, te bucinatorem
20 fore existimationis meae, firmo id constantique animo facias licet; tantum enim mihi dolorem cruciatumque attulerunt errata aetatis meae, ut non solum animus a factis, sed aures quoque a commemoratione abhorreant. Cuius te sollicitudinis et doloris participem fuisse notum
25 exploratumque est mihi, nec id mirum; nam cum omnia mea causa velles mihi successa, tum etiam tua; socium enim te meorum commodorum semper esse volui.

(3) Quoniam igitur tum ex me doluisti, nunc ut duplicetur tuum ex me gaudium praestabo. Cratippo me scito

non ut discipulum, sed ut filium esse coniunctissimum; nam cum audio illum libenter tum etiam propriam eius suavitatem vementer amplector. Sum totos dies cum eo noctisque saepe numero partem; exoro enim, ut mecum quam saepissime cenet. Hac introducta consuetudine 5 saepe inscientibus nobis et cenantibus obrepat sublataque severitate philosophiae humanissime nobiscum iocatur. Quare da operam, ut hunc talem, tam iucundum, tam excellentem virum videas quam primum. (4) Nam quid ego de Bruttio dicam? quem nullo tempore a me patior dis- 10 cedere; cuius cum frugi severaque est vita tum etiam iucundissima convictio; non est enim seiunctus iocus a φιλολογία et cotidiana συζητήσει. Huic ego locum in proximo conduxì et, ut possum, ex meis angustiis illius sustento tenuitatem. (5) Praeterea declamitare Graece apud Cas- 15 sium institui, Latine autem apud Bruttium exerceri volo. Utor familiaribus et cotidianis victoribus, quos secum Mitylenis Cratippus adduxit, hominibus et doctis et illi probatissimis. Multum etiam mecum est Epicrates, princeps Atheniensium, et Leonides et horum ceteri si- 20 miles. Τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμᾶς τάδε. (6) De Gorgia autem quod mihi scribis, erat quidem ille in cotidiana declamatione utilis, sed omnia postposui, dum modo praeceptis patris parerem; διαρρήδην enim scripserat, ut eum dimitterem statim. Tergiversari nolui, ne mea nimia σπουδή 25 suspicionem ei aliquam importaret; deinde illud etiam mihi succurrebat, grave esse me de iudicio patris iudicare. Tuum tamen studium et consilium gratum acceptumque est mihi.

(7) Excusationem angustiarum tui temporis accipio; 30 scio enim, quam soleas esse occupatus. Emisse te praedium vehementer gaudeo feliciterque tibi rem istam eve-

nire cupio — hoc loco me tibi gratulari noli mirari ; eodem enim fere loco tu quoque emisse te fecisti me certiore. Habes ; deponendae tibi sunt urbanitates ; rusticus Romanus factus es, quo modo ego mihi nunc ante oculos
 5 tuum iucundissimum conspectum propono ; videor enim videre e mentem te rusticas res, cum vilico loquentem, in lacinia servantem ex mensa secunda semina. Sed quod ad rem pertinet, me tum tibi defuisse aequae ac tu doleo. Sed noli dubitare, mi Tiro, quin te sublevaturus sim, si
 10 modo fortuna me, praesertim cum sciam communem nobis emptum esse istum fundum. (8) De mandatis quod tibi curae fuit, est mihi gratum ; sed peto a te, ut quam celerrime mihi librarius mittatur, maxime quidem Graecus ; multum mihi enim eripitur operae in exscri-
 15 bendis hypomnematis. Tu velim in primis cures, ut valeas, ut una *συμφιλολογεῖν* possimus. Anterum tibi commendo.

CLIII. CICERO PLANCO. (ROME, SHORTLY AFTER SEPTEMBER 19, 44)

Et afui proficiscens in Graeciam et, postea quam de medio cursu rei p. sum voce revocatus, numquam per M.
 20 Antonium quietus fui ; cuius tanta est non insolentia — nam id quidem vulgare vitium est — sed immanitas, non modo ut vocem, sed ne vultum quidem liberum possit ferre cuiusquam. Itaque mihi maximae curae est non de mea quidem vita, cui satis feci vel aetate vel factis vel, si quid
 25 etiam hoc ad rem pertinet, gloria, sed me patria sollicitat in primisque, mi Plance, exspectatio consulatus tui, quae ita longa est, ut optandum sit, ut possimus ad id tempus rei p. spiritum ducere. Quae potest enim spes esse in ea re p., in qua hominis impotentissimi atque intemperantis-

simi armis oppressa sunt omnia, et in qua nec senatus nec populus vim habet ullam, nec leges ullae sunt nec iudicia nec omnino simulacrum aliquod ac vestigium civitatis?

(2) Sed, quoniam acta omnia mitti ad te arbitrabar, nihil erat quod singulis de rebus scriberem; illud autem erat 5 amoris mei, quem a tua pueritia susceptum non servavi solum, sed etiam auxi, monere te atque hortari ut in rem p. omni cogitatione curaque incumberes. Quae si ad tuum tempus perducitur, facilis gubernatio est; ut perducatur autem, magnae cum diligentiae est tum etiam fortunae. 10

(3) Sed te aliquanto ante, ut spero, habebimus et, praeterquam quod rei p. consulere debemus, tamen tuae dignitati ita favemus, ut omne nostrum consilium, studium, officium, operam, laborem, diligentiam ad amplitudinem tuam conferamus. Ita facillime et rei p., quae mihi ca- 15 rissima est, et amicitiae nostrae, quam sanctissime nobis colendam puto, me intellego satis facturum.

(4) Furnium nostrum tanti a te fieri, quantum ipsius humanitas et dignitas postulat, nec miror et gaudeo teque hoc existimare volo, quicquid in eum iudicii officiique con- 20 tuleris, id ita me accipere, ut in me ipsum te putem contulisse.

CLIV. CICERO PLANCO S. (ROMAE, SHORTLY AFTER DECEMBER 2, 44)

Cum ipsum Furnium per se vidi libentissime tum hoc libentius, quod illum audiens te videbar audire. Nam et in re militari virtutem et in administranda provincia ius- 25 titiam et in omni genere prudentiam mihi tuam exposuit et praeterea mihi non ignotam in consuetudine et familiaritate suavitatem tuam; adiunxit praeterea summam erga se liberalitatem. Quae omnia mihi iucunda, hoc

extremum etiam gratum fuit. (2) Ego, Plance, necessitudinem constitutam habui cum domo vestra ante aliquanto quam tu natus es, amorem autem erga te ab ineunte pueritia tua, confirmata iam aetate familiaritatem
5 cum studio meo tum iudicio tuo constitutam. His de causis mirabiliter faveo dignitati tuae, quam mihi tecum statuo debere esse communem. Omnia summa consecutus es virtute duce, comite fortuna eaque es adeptus adulescens multis invidentibus, quos ingenio industriaque fregisti;
10 nunc me amantissimum tui, nemini concedentem, qui tibi vetustate necessitudinis potior possit esse, si audies, omnem tibi reliquae vitae dignitatem ex optimo rei p. statu adquires. (3) Scis profecto — nihil enim te fugere potuit — fuisse quoddam tempus, cum homines existimarent te
15 nimis servire temporibus, quod ego quoque existimarem, te si ea quae patiebare probare etiam arbitrarer; sed cum intellegerem quid sentire, prudenter te arbitrabar videre quid posses. Nunc alia ratio est. Omnium rerum tuum iudicium est, idque liberum. Consul es designatus, optima
20 aetate, summa eloquentia, maxima orbitate rei p. virorum talium. Incumbe, per deos immortales, in eam curam et cogitationem, quae tibi summam dignitatem et gloriam adferat; unus autem est, hoc praesertim tempore, per tot annos re p. divexata, rei p. bene gerendae cursus ad gloriam.
25 (4) Haec amore magis impulsus scribenda ad te putavi, quam quo te arbitrarer monitis et praeceptis egere; sciebam enim ex iisdem te haec haurire fontibus, ex quibus ipse hauseram. Quare modum faciam. Nunc tantum significandum putavi, ut potius amorem tibi ostenderem
30 meum quam ostentarem prudentiam. Interea quae ad dignitatem tuam pertinere arbitror studiose diligenterque curabo.

CLV. PLANCUS CICERONI. (FROM FURTHER GAUL,
DECEMBER, 44)

Gratissimae mihi tuae litterae fuerunt, quas ex Furni sermone te scripsisse animadverti. Ego autem praeteriti temporis excusationem adfero, quod te profectum audieram nec multo ante redisse scii quam ex epistula tua cognovi. Nullum enim in te officium ne minimum quidem 5 sine maxima culpa videor posse praeterire, in quo tuendo habeo causas plurimas vel paternae necessitudinis vel meae a pueritia observantiae vel tui erga me mutui amoris. (2) Quare, mi Cicero, quod mea tuaque patitur aetas, persuade tibi te unum esse in quo ego colendo patriam mihi 10 constituerim sanctitatem. Omnia igitur tua consilia mihi non magis prudentiae plena, quae summa est, videntur quam fidelitatis, quam ego ex mea conscientia metior. Quare, si aut aliter sentirem certe admonitio tua me reprimere aut, si dubitarem, hortatio impellere posset, ut id 15 sequeretur quod tu optimum putares; nunc vero quid est quod me in aliam partem trahere possit? Quaecumque in me bona sunt aut fortunae beneficio tributa aut meo labore parta, etsi a te propter amorem carius sunt aestimata, tamen vel inimicissimi iudicio tanta sunt, ut praeter 20 bonam famam nihil desiderare videantur. (3) Quare hoc unum tibi persuade, quantum viribus eniti, consilio providere, auctoritate monere potuero, hoc omne rei p. semper futurum. Non est ignotus mihi sensus tuus. Neque, si facultas optabilis mihi quidem tui praesentis esset, 25 umquam a tuis consiliis discreparem, nec nunc committam ut ullum meum factum reprehendere iure possis. (4) Sum in exspectatione omnium rerum, quid in Gallia citeriore, quid in urbe mense Ianuario geratur, ut sciam. Interim maximam hic sollicitudinem curamque sustineo, ne inter 30

aliena vitia hae gentes nostra mala suam putent occasionem. Quodsi proinde ut ipse mereor mihi successerit, certe et tibi, cui maxime cupio, et omnibus viris bonis satis faciam. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas.

CLVI. M. CICERO S.D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.
(ROME, SHORTLY AFTER DECEMBER 9, 44)

5 Lupus, familiaris noster, cum a te venisset cumque Romae quosdam dies commoraretur, ego eram in iis locis, in quibus maxime tuto me esse arbitrabar. Eo factum est ut ad te Lupus sine meis litteris rediret, cum tamen curasset tuas ad me perferendas. Romam autem veni a. d. V
10 Idus Dec. nec habui quicquam antiquius, quam ut Pansam statim convenirem; ex quo ea de te cognovi quae maxime optabam. Quare hortatione tu quidem non eges, si ne in illa quidem re, quae a te gesta est post hominum memoriam maxima, hortatorem desiderasti; (2) Illud tamen
15 breviter significandum videtur, populum Romanum omnia a te expectare atque in te aliquando recuperandae libertatis omnem spem ponere. Tu, si dies noctesque memineris, quod te facere certo scio, quantam rem gesseris, non obliviscere profecto, quantae tibi etiam nunc gerendae
20 sint. Si enim iste provinciam nactus erit, cui quidem ego semper amicus fui antequam illum intellexi non modo aperte sed etiam libenter cum re p. bellum gerere, spem reliquam nullam video salutis. (3) Quam ob rem te obsecro iisdem precibus quibus senatus populusque Romanus, ut in per-
25 petuum rem p. dominatu regio liberares, ut principiis consentiant exitus. Tuum est hoc munus, tuae partes, a te hoc civitas vel omnes potius gentes non expectant solum, sed etiam postulant. Quamquam, cum hortatione non egeas, ut supra scripsi, non utar ea pluribus verbis, faciam

illud quod meum est, ut tibi omnia mea officia, studia, curas, cogitationes pollicear, quae ad tuam laudem et gloriam pertinebunt. Quam ob rem velim tibi ita persuadeas, me cum rei p. causa, quae mihi vita mea est carior, tum quod tibi ipsi faveam tuamque dignitatem amplificari 5 velim, tuis optimis consiliis, amplitudini, gloriae nullo loco defuturum.

CLVII. CICERO PLANCO S. (ROME, MIDDLE OF JANUARY, 43)

Binas a te accepi litteras eodem exemplo, quod ipsum argumento mihi fuit diligentiae tuae; intellexi enim te laborare, ut ad me mihi expectatissimae litterae perfer-10 rentur. Ex quibus cepi fructum^{*} duplicem mihiq; in comparatione difficilem ad iudicandum, amoremne erga me tuum an animum in rem p. pluris aestimandum putarem. Est omnino patriae caritas meo quidem iudicio maxima, sed amor voluntatisque coniunctio plus certe habet suavi-15 tatis. Itaque commemoratio tua paternae necessitudinis benevolentiaeque eius quam erga me a pueritia contulisses ceterarumque rerum, quae ad eam sententiam pertinebant, incredibilem mihi laetitiam attulerunt; rursus declaratio animi tui, quem haberes de re p. quemque habiturus esses, 20 mihi erat iucundissima; eoque maior erat haec laetitia, quod ad illa superiora accedebat. Itaque te non hortor solum, mi Plance, sed plane etiam oro, quod feci iis litteris, quibus tu humanissime respondisti, ut tota mente omni-que animi impetu in rem p. incumbas. Nihil est quod tibi 25 maiori fructui gloriaeque esse possit, nec quicquam ex omnibus rebus humanis est praeclarius aut praestantius quam de re p. bene mereri. (3) Adhuc enim — patitur tua summa humanitas et sapientia me, quod sentiam,

libere dicere — fortuna suffragante videris res maximas consecutus ; quod quamquam sine virtute fieri non potuisset, tamen ex maxima parte ea quae es adeptus fortunae temporibusque tribuuntur ; his temporibus difficillimis rei p.
 5 quicquid subveneris, id erit totum et proprium tuum. Incredibilest omnium civium latronibus exceptis odium in Antonium, magna spes in te et in tuo exercitu, magna expectatio ; cuius, per deos, gratiae gloriaeque cave tempus amittas. Sic moneo ut filium, sic faveo ut mihi,
 10 sic hortor ut et pro patria et amicissimum.

CLVIII. M. CICERO S.D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.
 (ROME, ABOUT JANUARY 24, 43)

Eo tempore Polla tua misit, ut ad te, si quid vellem, darem litterarum, cum quid scriberem non habebam ; omnia enim erant suspensa propter expectationem legatorum, qui quid egissent, nihildum nuntiabatur. Haec
 15 tamen scribenda existimavi, primum senatum populumque Romanum de te laborare non solum salutis suae causa, sed etiam dignitatis tuae. Admirabilis enim est quaedam tui nominis caritas amorque in te singularis omnium civium ; ita enim sperant atque confidunt, ut antea rege,
 20 sic hoc tempore regno te rem p. liberaturum. (2) Romae dilectus habetur totaque Italia, si hic dilectus appellandus est, cum ultro se offerunt omnes ; tantus ardor animos hominum occupavit desiderio libertatis odioque diutinae servitutis. De reliquis rebus a te iam expectare litteras
 25 debemus, quid ipse agas, quid noster Hirtius, quid Caesar meus ; quos spero brevi tempore societate victoriae tecum copulatos fore. Reliquum est ut de me id scribam quod te ex tuorum litteris et spero et malo cognoscere, me neque desse ulla in re neque umquam defuturum dignitati tuae.

CLIX. CICERO CASSIO S. (ROME, FEBRUARY 1, 43)

Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad cenam invitasses; reliquiarum nihil fuisset. Nunc me reliquiae vestrae exercent, et quidem praeter ceteros me. Quamquam egregios consules habemus, sed turpissimos consularis, senatum fortem, sed infimo quemque honore fortissimum; populo 5 vero nihil fortius, nihil melius Italiaque universa; nihil autem foedius Philippo et Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius. Qui cum essent missi, ut Antonio ex senatus sententia certas res denuntiarent, cum ille earum rerum nulli paruisset, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata rettulerunt. 10 Itaque ad nos concurritur, factique iam in re salutari populares sumus.

(2) Sed tu quid ageres, ubi denique esses, nesciebam; fama nuntiabat te esse in Syria, auctor erat nemo. De Bruto, quo propius est, eo firmiora videntur esse quae nun- 15 tiantur. Dolabella valde vituperabatur ab hominibus non insulsis, quod tibi tam cito succederet, cum tu vixdum XXX dies in Syria fuisses. Itaque constabat eum recipi in Syriam non oportere. Summa laus et tua et Bruti est, quod exercitum praeter spem existimamini comparasse. 20 Scriberem plura, si rem causamque nossem; nunc quae scribo, scribo ex opinione hominum atque fama. Tuas litteras avide exspecto. Vale.

CLX. CICERO CASSIO S. (ROME, FEBRUARY 4, 43)

Hiemem credo adhuc prohibuisse, quominus de te certum haberemus, quid ageres maximeque ubi esses; lo- 25 quebantur omnes tamen — credo, quod volebant — in Syria te esse, habere copias. Id autem eo facilius credebatur, quia simile veri videbatur. Brutus quidem noster

egregiam laudem est consecutus; res enim tantas gessit tamque inopinatas, ut eae cum per se gratae essent tum ornatiores propter celeritatem. Quodsi tu ea tenes quae putamus, magnis subsidiis fulta res p. est; a prima enim 5 ora Graeciae usque ad Aegyptum optimorum civium imperiis muniti erimus et copiis. (2) Quamquam, nisi me fallebat, res se sic habebat, ut totius belli omne discrimen in D. Bruto positum videretur; qui si, ut sperabamus, erupisset Mutina, nihil belli reliqui fore videbatur. Parvis 10 omnino iam copiis obsidebatur, quod magno praesidio Bononiam tenebat Antonius. Erat autem Claternae noster Hirtius, ad Forum Cornelium Caesar, uterque cum firmo exercitu, magnasque Romae Pansa copias ex dilectu Italiae compararat. Hiems adhuc rem geri prohibuerat. Hirtius nihil nisi considerate, ut mihi crebris litteris significat, acturus videbatur. Praeter Bononiam, Regium Lepidi, Parmam, totam Galliam tenebamus studiosissimam rei publicae; tuos etiam clientis Transpadanos mirifice coniunctos cum causa habebamus. Erat firmissimus senatus 20 exceptis consularibus, ex quibus unus L. Caesar firmus est et rectus. (3) Ser. Sulpici morte magnum praesidium amisimus; reliqui partim inertes, partim improbi; non nulli invident eorum laudi, quos in re p. probari vident; populi vero Romani totiusque Italiae mira consensus est. 25 Haec erant fere, quae tibi nota esse vellem; nunc autem opto ut ab istis Orientis partibus virtutis tuae lumen eluceat. Vale.

CLXI. CICERO PLANCO. (ROME, MARCH 20, 43)

Quae locutus est Furnius noster de animo tuo in rem p., ea gratissima fuerunt senatui, p. R. probatissima; quae 30 autem tuae recitatae litterae sunt in senatu, nequaquam

consentire cum Furni oratione visae sunt. Pacis enim auctor eras, cum collega tuus, vir clarissimus, a foedissimis latronibus obsideretur, qui aut positis armis pacem petere debent, aut, si pugnantes eam postulant, victoria pax, non pactione pariendast. Sed de pace litterae vel Lepidi 5 vel tuae quam in partem acceptae sint, ex viro optimo, fratre tuo, et ex C. Furnio poteris cognoscere. (2) Me autem impulit tui caritas ut; quamquam ne tibi ipsi consilium deesset, et fratris Furnique benevolentia fidelisque prudentia tibi praesto esset futura, vellem tamen 10 meae quoque auctoritatis pro plurimis nostris necessitudinibus praeceptum ad te aliquod pervenire. Crede igitur mihi, Plance, omnis, quos adhuc gradus dignitatis consecutus sis — es autem adeptus amplissimos — eos honorum vocabula habituros, non dignitatis insignia, nisi 15 te cum libertate populi R. et cum senatus auctoritate coniunxeris. Seiunge te, quaeso, aliquando ab iis, cum quibus te non tuum iudicium, sed temporum vincla coniunxerunt. (3) Complures in perturbatione rei p. consules dicti, quorum nemo consularis habitus, nisi qui animo ex- 20 stitit in rem p. consulari. Talem igitur te esse oportet, qui primum te ab impiorum civium tui dissimillimorum societate seiungas deinde te senatui bonisque omnibus auctorem, principem ducem praebeas, postremo ut pacem esse iudices non in armis positis, sed in abiecto armorum 25 et servitutis metu. Haec si et ages et senties, tum eris non modo consul et consularis, sed magnus etiam consul et consularis; sin aliter, tum in istis amplissimis nominibus honorum non modo dignitas nulla erit, sed erit summa deformitas. Haec impulsus benevolentia scripsi paulo 30 severius; quae tu in experiendo ea ratione quae te digna est, vera esse cognosces. D. XIII K. Apr.

CLXII. CICERO PLANCO. (ROME, APRIL 11, 43)

Etsi rei p. causa maxime gaudere debeo tantum ei te praesidii, tantum opis attulisse extremis paene temporibus, tamen ita te victorem complectar re p. recuperata, ut magnam partem mihi laetitiae tua dignitas adfert, quam
5 et esse iam et futuram amplissimam intellego. Cave enim putes ullas umquam litteras gratiores quam tuas in senatu esse recitatas; idque contigit cum meritorum tuorum in rem p. eximia quadam magnitudine tum verborum sententiarumque gravitate. Quod mihi quidem minime
10 novum, qui et te nossem et tuarum litterarum ad me missarum promissa meminissem et haberem a Furnio nostro tua. penitus consilia cognita, sed senatui maiora visa sunt quam erant expectata, non quo umquam de tua voluntate dubitasset, sed nec quantum facere posses nec quo
15 progredi velles exploratum satis habebat.

(2) Itaque cum a. d. VII Idus Aprilis mane mihi tuas litteras M. Varisidius reddidisset easque legissem, incredibili gaudio sum elatus; cumque magna multitudo optimorum virorum et civium me domo deduceret, feci continuo omnis participes meae voluptatis. Interim ad me venit Munatius noster ut consuerat. At ego ei litteras tuas, nihildum enim sciebat; nam ad me primum Varisidius, idque sibi a te mandatum esse dicebat. Paulo post idem mihi Munatius eas litteras legendas dedit, quas
25 ipsi miseras, et eas, quas publice. (3) Placuit nobis, ut statim ad Cornutum, praetorem urbanum, litteras deferremus, qui, quod consules aberant, consulare munus sustinebat more maiorum. Senatus est continuo convocatus frequensque convenit propter famam atque expectationem
30 tuarum litterarum. Recitatis litteris oblata religio Cornuto est pullariorum admonitu non satis dili-

genter eum auspiciis operam dedisse, idque a nostro collegio comprobatum est. Itaque res dilata est in posterum. Eo autem die magna mihi pro tua dignitate contentio cum Servilio; qui cum gratia effecisset, ut sua sententia prima pronuntiaretur, frequens eum senatus reliquit et in 5 alia omnia discessit, meaeque sententiae, quae secunda pronuntiata erat, cum frequenter adsentiretur senatus, rogatu Servili P. Titius intercessit. Res in posterum dilata. (4) Venit paratus Servilius Iovi ipsi iniquus, cuius in templo res agebatur. Hunc quem ad modum fre- 10 gerim quantaque contentione Titium intercessorem abiecerim, ex aliorum te litteris malo cognoscere; unum hoc ex meis: senatus gravior, constantior, amicier tuis laudibus esse non potuit, quam tum fuit, nec vero tibi senatus amicier quam cuncta civitas; mirabiliter enim populus 15 R. universus et omnium generum ordinumque consensus ad liberandam rem p. conspiravit.

(5) Perge igitur, ut agis, nomenque tuum commenda immortalitati atque haec omnia, quae habent speciem gloriae conlecta inanissimis splendoris insignibus, contemne, 20 brevia, fugacia, caduca existima. Verum decus in virtute positum est, quae maxime inlustratur magnis in rem p. meritis. Eam facultatem habes maximam. Quam quoniam complexus es, tene; perface, ut ne minus res p. tibi quam tu rei p. debeas. Me tuae dignitatis non modo 25 fautorem, sed etiam amplificatorem cognosces. Id cum rei p., quae mihi vitast mea carior, tum nostrae necessitudini debere me iudico. Atque in his curis, quas contuli ad dignitatem tuam, cepi magnam voluptatem, quod bene cognitam mihi T. Munati prudentiam et fidem magis etiam 30 perspexi in eius incredibili erga te benevolentia et diligentia. III Idus Apr.

CLXIII. D. BRUTUS S.D. M. CICERONI. (IN CAMP,
APRIL 29, 43)

Pansa amisso quantum detrimenti res p. acceperit, non te praeterit. Nunc auctoritate et prudentia tua prospicias oportet, ne inimici nostri consulibus sublatis sperent se convalescere posse. Ego ne consistere possit in Italia
5 Antonius dabo operam; sequar eum confestim. Utrumque me praestaturum spero, ne aut Ventidius elabatur aut Antonius in Italia moretur. In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventosissimum, Lepidum, mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare possit Antonio sibi coniuncto. Nam de Pollione
10 Asinio puto te perspicere quid factururus sit. Multae et bonae et firmae sunt legiones Lepidi et Asini. (2) Neque haec idcirco tibi scribo, quod te non eadem animadvertere sciam, sed quod mihi persuasissimum est Lepidum recte facturum numquam, si forte vobis id de hoc dubium est.
15 Plancum quoque confirmetis, oro; quem spero pulso Antonio rei p. non defuturum. Si se Alpes Antonius traiecerit, constitui praesidium in Alpibus conlocare et te de omni re facere certiore. III K. Mai. ex castris Regio.

CLXIV. PLANCUS CICERONI. (GALLIA NARBONENSIS,
ABOUT MAY 12, 43)

His litteris scriptis quae postea accidissent scire te ad
20 rem p. putavi pertinere. Sedulitas mea, ut spero, et mihi et rei p. tulit fructum. Namque assiduis internuntiis cum Lepido egi, ut omissa omni contentione reconciliataque voluntate nostra communi consilio rei p. succurreret, se, liberos urbemque pluris quam unum perditum abiec-
25 tumque latronem putaret obsequioque meo, si ita faceret, ad omnis res abuteretur. (2) Profeci. Itaque per Late-

rensem internuntium fidem mihi dedit se Antonium, si prohibere provincia sua non potuisset, bello persecuturum, me, ut venirem, copiasque coniungerem, rogavit, eoque magis, quod et Antonius ab equitatu firmus esse dicebatur, et Lepidus ne mediocrem quidem equitatum⁵ habebat; nam etiam ex paucitate eius non multis ante diebus decem, qui optimi fuerant, ad me transierunt. Quibus rebus ego cognitis cunctatus non sum; in cursu bonorum consiliorum Lepidum adiuvandum putavi. (3) Adventus meus quid profecturus esset, vidi, vel quod equi-¹⁰ tatu meo persequi atque opprimere equitatum eius possem, vel quod exercitus Lepidi eam partem, quae corrupta est et ab re p. alienata, et corrigere et coercere praesentia mei exercitus possem. Itaque in Isara, flumine maximo, quod in finibus est Allobrogum, ponte uno die facto exercitum¹⁵ a. d. IV Idus Mai. traduxi. Cum vero mihi nuntiatum esset L. Antonium praemissum cum equitibus et cohortibus ad Forum Iuli venisse, fratrem cum equitum quattuor milibus, ut occurreret ei, misi a. d. V Idus Mai.; ipse maximis itineribus cum quattuor legionibus expeditis et²⁰ reliquo equitatu subsequar. Si nos mediocris modo fortuna rei p. adiuverit, et audaciae perditorum et nostrae sollicitudinis hic finem reperiemus. Quodsi latro praecognito nostro adventu rursus in Italiam se recipere coeperit, Bruti erit officium occurrere ei; cui scio nec con-²⁵ silium nec animum defuturum. Ego tamen, si id acciderit, fratrem cum equitatu mittam, qui sequatur Italiamque a vastatione defendat. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas.

CLXV. CICERO CASSIO S. (ROME, JUNE 30, OR SHORTLY
AFTER, 43)

Lepidus, tuus adfinis, meus familiaris, pr. K. Quintiles
sententiis omnibus hostis a senatu iudicatus est ceterique,
qui una cum illo a re p. defecerunt; quibus tamen ad
sanitatem redeundi ante K. Sept. potestas facta est. For-
5 tis sane senatus, sed maxime spe subsidii tui. Bellum
quidem, cum haec scribebam, sane magnum erat scelere et
levitate Lepidi. Nos de Dolabella cotidie quae volumus
audimus, sed adhuc sine capite, sine auctore, rumore nun-
tio. (2) Quod cum ita esset, tamen litteris tuis, quas
10 Nonis Maiis ex castris datas acceperamus, ita persuasum
erat civitati, ut illum iam oppressum omnes arbitrarentur,
te autem in Italiam venire cum exercitu, ut, si haec ex sen-
tentia confecta essent, consilio atque auctoritate tua, sin
quid forte titubatum, ut fit in bello, exercitu tuo niteremur.
15 Quem quidem ego exercitum, quibuscumque potuero rebus,
ornabo; cuius rei tum tempus erit, cum, quid opis rei p.
laturus is exercitus sit aut quid iam tulerit, notum esse
coeperit; nam adhuc tantum conatus audiuntur optimi
illi quidem et praeclarissimi, sed gesta res expectatur,
20 quam quidem aut iam esse aliquam aut adpropinquare
confido. (3) Tua virtute, magnitudine animi nihil est
nobilius. Itaque optamus, ut quam primum te in Italia
videamus. Rem p. nos habere arbitrabimur, si vos habe-
bimus. Praeclare viceramus, nisi spoliatum, inermem,
25 fugientem Lepidus recepisset Antonium. Itaque num-
quam tanto odio civitati Antonius fuit, quanto est Lepidus;
ille enim ex turbulenta re p., hic ex pace et victoria bellum
excitavit. Huic oppositos consules designatos habemus,
in quibus est magna illa quidem spes, sed anceps cura
30 propter incertos exitus proeliorum. (4) Persuade tibi

igitur in te et in Bruto tuo esse omnia, vos exspectari, Brutum quidem iam iamque. Quodsi, ut spero, victis hostibus nostris veneritis, tamen auctoritate vestra res p. exsurget et in aliquo statu tolerabili consistet; sunt enim permulta, quibus erit medendum, etiamsi res p. satis esse videbitur sceleribus hostium liberata. Vale.

CLXVI. PLANCUS IMP. COS. DES. S.D. CICERONI.

(IN CAMP, JULY 28, 43)

Facere non possum, quin in singulas res meritaque tua tibi gratias agam, sed mehercules facio cum pudore. Neque enim tanta necessitudo, quantam tu mihi tecum esse voluisti, desiderare videtur gratiarum actionem, neque ego lubenter pro maximis tuis beneficiis tam vili munere defungor orationis et malo praesens observantia, indulgentia, assiduitate memorem me tibi probare. Quodsi mihi vita contigerit, omnis gratas amicitias atque etiam pias propinquitates in tua observantia, indulgentia, assiduitate vincam; amor enim tuus ac iudicium de me utrum mihi plus dignitatis in perpetuum an voluptatis cotidie sit allaturus, non facile dixerim.

(2) De militum commodis fuit tibi curae; quos ego non potentiae meae causa — nihil enim me non salutariter cogitare scio — ornari volui a senatu, sed primum quod ita meritos iudicabam, deinde quod ad omnis casus conjunctiones rei p. esse volebam, novissime ut ab omni omnium sollicitatione aversos eos talis vobis praestare possem, quales adhuc fuerunt. (3) Nos adhuc hic omnia integra sustinuimus. Quod consilium nostrum, etsi, quanta sit aviditas hominum non sine causa capitalis victoriae scio, tamen vobis probari spero. Non enim, si quid in his exercitibus sit offensum, magna subsidia res p. habet ex-

pedita, quibus subito impetu ac latrocinio parricidarum resistat. Copias vero nostras notas tibi esse arbitror. In castris meis legiones sunt veteranae tres, tironum vel luculentissima ex omnibus una, in castris Bruti una veterana
5 legio, altera bima, octo tironum. Ita universus exercitus numero amplissimus est, firmitate exiguus. Quantum autem in acie tironi sit committendum nimium saepe expertum habemus. (4) Ad hoc robur nostrorum exercituum sive Africanus exercitus, qui est veteranus, sive
10 Caesaris accessisset, aequo animo summam rem p. in discrimen deduceremus; aliquanto autem propius esse, quod ad Caesarem attinet, videbamus. Nihil destiti eum litteris hortari, neque ille intermisit adfirmare se sine mora venire, cum interim aversum illum ab hac cogitatione ad
15 alia consilia video se contulisse. Ego tamen ad eum Furium nostrum cum mandatis litterisque misi, si quid proficere posset. (5) Scis tu, mi Cicero, quod ad Caesaris amorem attinet, societatem mihi esse tecum, vel quod in familiaritate Caesaris vivo illo iam tueri eum et diligere
20 fuit mihi necesse, vel quod ipse, quoad ego nosse potui, moderatissimi fuit sensus, vel quod ex tam insigni amicitia mea atque Caesaris hunc fili loco et illius et vestro iudicio substitutum non proinde habere turpe mihi videtur. (6) Sed — quicquid tibi scribo, dolenter mehercules magis
25 quam inimice facio — quod vivit Antonius hodie, quod Lepidus una est, quod exercitus habent non contemnendos, quod sperant, quod audent, omne Caesari acceptum referre possunt. Neque ego superiora repetam; sed ex eo tempore, quo ipse mihi professus est se venire, si venire volu-
30 isset, aut oppressum iam bellum esset aut in aversissimam illis Hispaniam cum detrimento eorum maximo extrusum. Quae mens eum aut quorum consilia a tanta gloria, sibi

vero etiam necessaria ac salutarī avocarit et ad cogitationem consulatus bimestris summo cum terrore hominum et insulsa cum efflagitatione transtulerit, exputare non possum. (7) Multum in hac re mihi videntur necessarii eius et rei p. et ipsius causa proficere posse, plurimum, 5 ut puto, tu quoque, cuius illa tanta merita habet, quanta nemo praeter me. Numquam enim obliviscar maxima ac plurima me tibi debere. De his rebus ut exigeret cum eo Furnio mandavi. Quodsi, quantam debeo, habuero apud eum auctoritatem, plurimum ipsum iuvero. (8) Nos 10 interea duriorē condicione bellum sustinemus, quod neque expeditissimam dimicationem putamus neque tamen refugiendo commissuri sumus ut maius detrimentum res p. accipere possit. Quodsi aut Caesar se respexerit, aut Africanæ legiones celeriter venerint, securos vos ab hac 15 parte reddemus. Tu, ut instituisti, me diligas rogo, proprieque tuum esse tibi persuadeas. V. K. Sext. ex castris.



NOTES

I. The letter was written during the praetorship of Cicero.

1. **adventare**: the frequentative is colloquial. — **sentio** . . . **venias**: the coördination instead of a subordinating construction is archaic and colloquial. — **comitia**: Quintus was a candidate for the curule aedileship of the next year. — **Acutilianam**: the matter is otherwise unknown. — **Peducaeus**: S. Peducaeus had been praetor of Sicily in 75, when Cicero had been his quaestor. — **intercessio**: not in the official meaning of the word, but as private mediation.

2. **Macro**: C. Licinius Macer, known as a Roman historian, had been tried before Cicero as praetor for extortion (*repetundarum*). — **fuissemus**: not merely concessive, but containing a contrary to fact idea; *although* (if I had chosen) *I might have been*.

3. **Hermathena**: a double-faced bust, showing on the one side Mercury, and on the other Minerva. Atticus had bought it for Cicero, who was purchasing sculptures for his houses. — **Academiae**: a hall on his Tusculan estate, the same as the gymnasium below. Plato had taught in the Gymnasium Academia in Athens. — **Signa** = *statuas*. — **Formianum, Tusculanum, Caetanum**: country seats belonging to Cicero. So early in his career he had already three of these. — **libros foll.**: a sentence revealing Cicero in the pleasant light of the bibliophile. — **Crassi**: the proverbial millionaire of Cicero's, and of later times. — **Vicos**: "blocks" in the city, while *prata* refers to country seats.

II. The letter discusses Cicero's prospects for the consulship. The election was to take place in July, 64, so that he seems to have "laid his wires" more than a year before the election. Of course, nominations by party being unknown, a man always ran as an independent.

1. **petitio**: the technical term for "canvass," although Cicero had not as yet officially announced his candidacy. — **quod**: *limit*; G. (Gildersleeve-Lodge) 627, R. R. 1, 2; cp. *videantur*,

below. — **sine fuco**: note the popular alliteration, and cp. *prae-propera prensatio* below. — **ita . . . ut**: *with the excuse that*. — **inveniri**: appositive to *hoc*. — **cogitaramus**: epistolary tense, as is *dicebat*; cp. G. 252. — **Antonius**: he actually became Cicero's colleague. — **Q. Cornificius**: like Cicero a *homo novus* and his staunch friend during the Catilinarian troubles. — **ferias**: gesture of mournful excitement. — **M. Caesonius**: one of the jurors in the trial of Verres, 70, and Cicero's colleague in the praetorship of 66. — **Aquilius**: likewise Cicero's colleague in the praetorship, and now the leading member of the Roman Bar; hence *regnum iudiciale*. He sacrificed political preferment to congenial occupation. — **Catilina**: he was under indictment for misappropriation of public funds. — **Aufidius**: a noted jurist. — **Palicanus**: a man of notoriously bad character.

2. **nunc**: that is, for the consulship of 64. — **L. Iulius Caesar**: uncle of M. Antonius, and brother-in-law of Lentulus, the Catilinarian. — **inopes ab**: G. 390, 2, N. 6; 397, N. 1. — **curator**: as such Thermus would be able to ingratiate himself with the inhabitants of the *municipia* which were benefited by this great North Road. — **Gallia**: *Cisalpina*. — **legati**: Cicero thinks of a *legatio libera*; such an office *sine cura* would often be granted by the Senate to men politically prominent. It carried with it special privileges as to post horses, etc. Cp. our "Congressional junkets."

3. **quod**: cognate accusative. — **agere**: *to sue*. — **fratre**: *cousin*. — **dolo malo, mancipio accepisse**: legal terms; translate, *fraudulently, purchase*. — **magistrum** (*auctionis* sc.): *receiver, referee*. — **vēnirent**. — **adessem**: as *advocatus*, to lend weight to the cause by his presence.

4. **eo**: the lawyer. — **perhiberet**: *employs*. — **homines belli**: colloquialism, *gentlemen, polite society*. — ἐπεὶ οὐχ: *Il. XXII, 159; no trifling prize*.

5. **gymnasium**: the physical exercise room of the house. — ἀνάθημα: a votive offering; the gymnasium is so dominated by the bust that it seems as if it had been specially built for it.

III. The consuls mentioned are those of 64, though the letter was undoubtedly written in 65.

1. **filiolo**: his Marcus, on whom cp. the *Introd.*, p. xx. On the use of the diminutive, see *Introd.*, p. xli, d. The restraint of per-

sonal feeling, even between friends so close, is very noteworthy; the same restraint is seen in his remarks on the betrothal of his daughter, *Fam.* I, 3. — **ego**: in sharp contrast to the *te* of the preceding sentence. — **antea**: *Att.* I, 1. — **Catilinam**: it seems hardly conceivable that this is the same man whom Cicero attacked so bitterly in 63. We must realize, however, that Catiline's plans had not yet been matured, and that Cicero, first and foremost, was a trial lawyer. Even to-day lawyers do not usually inquire too closely into the past of their clients. — **accusatoris**: subj. gen. It would appear that the prosecutor, in this case, worked hand in glove with the defense. Such a dishonorable understanding was called *praevaricatio*. It does not contribute to our esteem for Cicero's professional standards. — **humaniter**: adverbs in *-iter* from adjectives of the second are not infrequent in colloquial speech; G. 92, 2.

2. **tuos familiares**: perhaps sarcastic, as Atticus belonged to the *ordo equester*. Yet his business transactions must have brought him into constant intimate relations to many of the aristocrats.

IV. After his consulship, Cicero felt at once the enmity of Catiline's partizans. On the last day of his magistracy, when, according to custom, he wished to address the assembled people, Q. Metellus Nepos, the tribune, forbade him to do so, on the ground that the executioner of a citizen without a trial had forfeited the right to address the citizens. Q. Metellus Celer had taken umbrage at Cicero's way of defending himself against this attack, and in his letters voices his resentment.

Notice in the *superscriptio* the overbearing pride of the writer, who adverts to his ancestry by his full name and his office, but begrudges the same honor to his correspondent.

1. **mutuo animo**: both were conservatives. — **laesum iri**: the use of the future passive infinitive is more frequent in older times than later; it would therefore here be due either to the conservative leanings of the writer, or to the epistolary style. — **capite**: Nepos had been compelled to flee to the East to Pompey to escape the violence of the Optimates.

2. **in luctu et squalore**: relatives of men on trial for their lives would appear in mourning garb to arouse the sympathy of the public.

V. Cicero's reply to the preceding letter. Notice the *superscriptio* with its studied punctiliousness.

1. **reticeres**: a transitive verb, but *tacere de*. Metellus had been raising an army in Cisalpine Gaul to crush Catiline's forces.

2. **errorem**: *blunder, lack of tact*.

3. **sortitione**: *cooked* ballots seem not to have been unknown in Rome. — **collegas tuos**: especially Caesar.

4. **praescriptione**: the "preamble" of the decree, often couched in laudatory terms; cp. Cicero, *Cat.* III, 14, where the preamble of the decree against the arrested conspirators contained the thanks of the Senate to Cicero and his assistants.

6. **Claudia**: better known to history as the notorious Clodia, sister of the ruffianly tribune and enemy of Cicero. She was the wife of Metellus Celer, whom she is said to have murdered. Notice that Cicero uses here, politely, the patrician form of the name. — **Mucia**: half-sister of Metellus, and divorced wife of Pompey. It is interesting to see that Cicero employs the mediation of noble ladies to further his purposes. On the position of women in this age, cp. Boissier, *Cicero and His Friends*, 163 foll.

7. **ius iurandum**: instead of the usual oath that he had faithfully discharged the duties of his office, Cicero swore that he had saved the country.

8. **integrum**: he felt bound by his previous utterance. — **agere** (*cum plebe* sc.): technical term of the tribune addressing the people.

9. **de rebus**: *celare* in the active voice takes two accusatives; in the passive one is replaced by a prepositional construction to avoid ambiguity. — **senati consulto**: this genitive ending is retained from early Latin.

10. **tui**: obj. gen.

VI. After the putting down of the conspiracy, Cicero had sent Pompey a long letter (now lost), probably full of exaggerated self-praise. Pompey had replied in a few cool lines, and in his official missive to the Senate had purposely omitted all praise of Cicero. This letter replies to the former and censures the latter.

1. **S(i) T(u) E(xercitus) Q(ue) V(aletis) B(ene) E(st)**: cp. *Fam.* V, 2. This is the officially prescribed and exceedingly formal letter heading to a commanding general. — **pollicebar**: referring to his predictions in the speech *De Lege Manilia*. —

hostis: political opponents, probably referring to Caesar and the *populares* whose friendship dated only from 66.

2. **studia:** his advocacy of the Manilian Bill, of a *supplicatio* for Pompey, and other complimentary utterances, such as in *Cat.* II, 11.

3. **litteris:** the missive to the Senate, not the private letter, as is proven by the clause *ne . . . offenderes*. — **orbis terrae:** the Universe, while *orbis terrarum* means the "Roman Empire." — **Laelium:** attracted to the case of *me*.

VII. Antonius had been Cicero's colleague in the consulship. A partizan of Catiline, he had been won over to inactive neutrality by Cicero's abandoning to him the rich province of Macedonia. Notice the cool proud tone of the letter, which Cicero had to write as he could not well refuse the favor to his most intimate friend Atticus.

1. **non quo:** with subjunctive, introduces a reason to be refuted; *G.* 541, N. 2.

2. **comperisse:** Cicero had been taunted by his opponents with not revealing his sources of information in the conspiracy. He flings here back at Atticus the word with the abuse of which he had been taunted by the friends of the addressee. — **existimare** = *aestimare*, rare in Cicero.

VIII. M. Fadius Gallus was a personal friend of Cicero's. He had purchased some statues for him which Cicero finds both too cumbersome and too expensive. The letter throws a peculiar light on the motives which made art collectors of the Roman nobles. Cicero evidently wishes to give a Greek character to his house. Yet he says that he cares nothing at all for statuary, not even for art in general, except perhaps for pictures.

1. **Tantum quod:** *just now*. — **Arpinate:** his inherited estate in his native town Arpinum. — **Aviani:** Avianius was the seller. — **nomina facere:** *to debit*. Avianius had offered to give Cicero any terms he liked. — **rogare de die:** on which to pay = *to ask for credit*. — **plus annua:** a promissory note running for more than a year.

2. **Damasippus:** he seems to have expressed his willingness to take the purchase off Cicero's hands. He was apparently an enthusiastic art collector; *ep. Hor. Sat.* II, 3, 18. — **Bacchas:** some Maenads, orgiastic dancing women in the Bacchic pro-

cession, a favorite subject of the art of the age. — **Musae Metelli**: statues of Muses owned by Metellus and apparently well known to the art-loving public. — **Musis**: jesting upon the names of the goddesses. — **congruens**: the Muses would at least have been in harmony with the room for which the statuary was intended, and the taste of the owner. — **gymnasiorum**: the public Greek gymnasia were adorned with statuary, and in imitation of this custom the Roman nobles adorned their palaestrae, *i.e.* exercise rooms. — **pacis auctori**: alluding to his boast during his consulship that he was a *dux togatus*. — **Saturni . . . aes alienum**: because in the doctrine of astrology Mars and Saturn were stars bringing ill luck. In *aes alienum* we have an allusion to the constant financial difficulties in which Cicero lived. — **Mercuri**: who as god of trade might have prospered the dicker with Avianius.

3. trapezophorum: ornamented table supports and the tables themselves (properly called *abacus*) like those found in Pompeii. — **summa**: ablative of price. — **nē**: particle of emphatic assertion. — **deversorium**: a modest house for temporary sojourn. In antiquity, when hotels were always houses of ill-repute, people of wealth kept such quarters wherever they were likely to travel, in order to avoid claiming the hospitality of friends or even strangers. — **exhedria**: diminutive of *exhedra*, a room for lectures and discussions, probably of semicircular shape and open. — **porticula**: diminutive of *porticus*, a small colonnade, such as were found in the country houses of Roman nobles, for the same purposes as our American porches, *viz.* shade and open air at the same time. — **Tusculani**: his favorite country seat in Tusculum, near the modern Frascati in the Alban hills. — **ista**: (*signa sc.*). — **Pseudodamasippus**: a man of the same bent as Damasippus.

4. de domo: a house which Gallus had leased or bought, but the present tenant, a sister of the vendor, was unwilling to vacate in the absence of her husband who was in Spain. — **migrare**: *to move*. — **illo**: note the colloquial asyndeton; *Introd.*, p. xl, b.

IX. In December, 62, the notorious Clodius had entered the house of the Pontifex Maximus, Caesar, where at the time the festival of the Bona Dea, in which women only could participate, was in progress. He was called to trial for the sacrilege, and

this letter tells the troublesome scenes occurring during the progress of the suit.

1. *iudicio*: the trial. — ὕστερον πρότερον: cp. *Il.* I, 251. — *Piso*: M. Papius Piso, consul of the year, favoring Clodius. — *Curio*: Scribonius Curio opposed the trial.

2. *rogatio consularis*: a bill submitted to the people by a consul. — *iudices*: the *rogatio consularis* established a special jury to be chosen by the praetor. Fufius's compromise bill left the jurors to be chosen by lot. — *inopiam*: allusion to the wholesale bribery practiced through the trial; cp. *egestas* below. — πρὸς τὸ πρότερον: the first topic, the happenings during the trial. — *intercederet*: as tribune Fufius could block all legislation. — *infamia*: under a cloud, as in the garb of a *reus*.

3. *reiectio*: the challenging of the jurors. — *lanista*: who tries to save the life of his best fighters. — *ludo talario*: a low-class entertainment, named so from the long costumes worn. — *aerati*: the *tribuni aerarii* formed the third class of people legally eligible for jury duty. Cicero seems here to be reporting some sarcastic saying about the venality of these men just then current. They were not so much tribunes of the treasury (*aerarium*) as, the way they are called (by the mob), furnished with money. This explanation of a joke, obscure at the best, assumes that by some error the words *aerarii* and *aerati* were interchanged in the Mss.

4. *ut* . . . *referebatur*: the *consilium* was a body of legal experts advising the praetor on points of law. These were most likely to arise during the *primae postulationes*, the preliminary questions concerning the conduct of the trial. — *ac non*: and not rather. — *tui cives*: the Athenians, with jesting reference to "Atticus." — *Metellus Numidicus*: in a trial for the misappropriation of public funds.

5. *convenit*: in the morning to conduct him from his house to the Forum. — *Areopagitae*: sarcastic comparison of the "packed" jury with the highest Attic tribunal. — ἔσπετε: *Il.* XVI, 112 ff. — *Calvum*: here a nickname of the triumvir Crassus. — *Nanneianis*: an allusion no longer intelligible to us. There had been a Nanneius, whose goods had been sold during the Sullan proscriptions, but why the people buying them should have been called *Nanneiani* we do not know. — *negotium*: the bribery. — *intercessit*: gave security.

6. **bonorum coniunctione**: the bringing about of harmony among the classes of wealth — the senatorial and equestrian orders — had been the chief aim of Cicero's policy during the times of the conspiracy. Cp. *Cat.* IV, 15. — **nummulis**: contemptive use of the diminutive.

8. **legi**: here = *recitari*. — *παρησλαν*: *boasting*. — **Syriam**: a province with rich perquisites. It had been unofficially promised, but had not yet been officially given to Piso. — **perpetua**: of a set speech. — *ἀγῶνα*: *joy of battle*; the Greek word leads Cicero to the use of *vos*, including Atticus among the Athenians.

9. **divinitus**: *finely, with telling effect*.

10. **pulchellus**: deriding diminutive of *pulcher*, the cognomen of Clodius. The connection with *puer* contains another, untranslatable, taunt of immorality. — **Baias**: near Naples, a summer resort of questionable respectability; Cicero replies by twitting Clodius with his disguise at the incident of Bona Dea. **Arpinati**: hence rustic, not belonging to good society. — **patrono**: Curio, who at the time of the Sullan proscriptions had obtained the mineral springs near Arpinum on the estate of Marius. — **Rex**: Q. Marcius Rex, brother-in-law of Clodius, had completely ignored the latter in his will. — **domum**: as Cicero's house was on the Palatine, the most aristocratic quarter of the city, it had been very expensive. Clodius hints that Cicero cannot have come by the money in an honorable way. — **crediderunt**: at the trial, for otherwise Clodius would have been convicted. Cicero takes up the word itself and turns it to its commercial use = *to give credit*.

11. **melius**: the use of the adverb with *esse* is common in the Letters. — **missus**: blood letting, a way of lowering the fever much practiced in ancient medicine; cp. *hirudo* = "leech," below. — **Magno**: Pompey. — **comissatores**: cp. *Cat.* II, 10. — **barbatuli**: diminutive of *barbati*; cp. the *bene barbati*, *Cat.* II, 22. — **ludis et gladiatoribus**: extended use of the ablative of time. — *ἐπισημασίας* = *applause*. Like in the modern *claque* this applause was often organized in Rome, and was started at the blow of a whistle (*pastoricia fistula*).

12. **comitiorum**: (*consularium* sc.). — **Auli filium**: Afranius, a man of little worth. During the Civil War he was Pompey's

legate in Spain together with Petreius. — **Philippus**: of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great. — **deterioris histrionis**: the second of the three actors on the ancient stage; colloquial = *second fiddle*. — **divisores**: of money, to buy votes. — **inquiri**: searching of the houses by the police, here for attempted bribery. — **adversus rem publicam**: quoted from the decree, with *factum esse* understood.

13. insimulatum lege Aelia: under this law, it seems, people of bodily infirmity were barred from all magistracies. Lurco was lame, and therefore his election really illegal. In this case, however, the action of the law seems to have been suspended (*solutus*), as well as another portion, declaring that elections preceded all new bills. — **bono auspicio**: ironical, as bodily infirmity in itself would be a bad omen. — **pronuntiarit**: *promised*.
 ∞ The figure for 1000 used in inscriptions. — *ἀποθέωσιν*: deification. — **Fabam mimum**: the *mimus* was a kind of farce. Faba seems to have been the title of one of these, in which the bean, tabooed by the Pythagoreans, who were firm believers in deification, played a prominent part. Hence, naturally, *φιλοσοφητέον* = one must take it philosophically. Atticus had always professed his adherence to the philosophy of Epicurus, which proclaimed a happy inaction as the goal of life. — **facteon**: jocularly formed by Cicero, instead of the gerundive, to correspond to the Greek word just used.

14. in Asiam: as legate to Cicero's brother Quintus, the brother-in-law of Atticus, just then sent to Asia as *propraetor*. — **ne . . . fiat**: both that Quintus should not be offended, and that Atticus might exercise some restraining influence on the hotspur Quintus.

15. epigrammatis: the Amaltheum, a villa of Atticus near Buthrotum in Epirus, was adorned with busts of famous personages, under which inscriptions were placed. Cicero's was among these busts. — **Thyillus, Archias**: contemporary Greek poets in Rome, who had promised to write poetry on the Catilinarian conspiracy. Archias is the man defended in this very year by Cicero in the well-known speech. — **Caecilianam fabulam**: drama in honor of the Caecilii Metelli with whom Archias was on friendly terms; perhaps with an allusion to the poet Caecilius Statius, on the Caecilii in the manner of Caecilius.

16. **Antonio**: see *Fam. V*, 5. — **valde**, etc.: *I sold you dearly*, in praising you to Antonius.

17. **Cincius**: agent (procurator) of Atticus.

18. *τοποθεσία*: location, ground plan. — *Ἀμαλθεία*: the goat which nursed Zeus, afterwards translated among the constellations; the Amaltheum was named after it. — **facere**: (Amaltheum sc.) Cicero's inordinate love for building made him poor.

X. Cicero's brother Quintus, a brother-in-law of Atticus, whose sister he had married, lived very unhappily with his wife. When he started for his Asiatic governorship he offered Atticus a *legatio*, but the latter declined. Cicero had asked his brother to visit Atticus on the journey and talk matters over with him. Quintus had promised to do so, but had not kept his word. Atticus had complained to Cicero about this, and at the same time had explained his own conduct, lest there should arise a difference between him and his friend. Cicero in his answer reviews their relations and at the same time furnishes us a splendid example of that pure friendship which, seventeen years later, he praised and discussed in his dialogue *De Amicitia*, dedicated to this same Atticus.

1. **ex litteris**: prepositional phrase instead of ablative of means.

2. **Dyrrachi**: where Atticus had a house, and *in istis locis*, i.e. in Epirus. — **accidisset**: subjunctive in *O. O.*, for the fut. perf. ind. of the protasis of a future more vivid condition. — **nam quanta**, etc.: with this characterization of his brother cp. the letter about governing a province (*Ad. Quint. I*, 1). — **quod**: subject of *voluit*.

3. **tuis**: referring to Pomponia, whose own temper was not of the best. — **ut**: concessive.

4. **Thessalonica**: (Saloniki), where people took ship for Asia.

5. **quas facultates**: probably in business, not in political positions. — **voluntatem vitae**: cp. the similar thought in the beginning of the speech *De Lege Manilia*. — **primas**: (*partes* sc.).

6. **sollicitudines**: plu. of the abstract = *instances of*, *proofs of*. — **ut dignitatem**: as in the Archias speech by which he obligated the house of the Luculli. — **non**: notice the anaphora, which, foreign to the quiet colloquial letter style, serves to emphasize the depth of his feelings.

7. *omittendae provinciae*: referring to Quintus's offer. — *religionem*: *binding force*, with strict etymological meaning.

8. *nostros*: because both he and Atticus belonged to the *ordo equester*. — *promulgatum*: on account of the Clodian affair in which wholesale bribery had been practiced. The *equites* formed a large part of that jury. — *aperte dicere*: because to oppose the bill openly was to confess their guilt.

9. *Asiam*: on this whole affair see *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, XXVIII, 171. It was a trust to do the state out of its income. — *Crassus*: he probably was one of the financial backers of the scheme. — *diei brevitatem*: because the Senate must adjourn at sunset. — *heros*: ironical. As a matter of fact, Cato acted simply from motives of justice.

10. *rationem*: the harmony between the two orders. — *munitur*: not "fortify," but in the technical sense = *build, construct*. — *utor*: hinting at his rapprochement with Pompey, whose coolness in regard to his Catilinarian laurels had offended Cicero.

11. *Luceium*: cp. *Fam.* V, 12. Caesar and Bibulus were successful. C. Calpurnius Piso, an optimate and a bitter enemy of Caesar. Thus Luceius would appear to have fallen between two chairs.

XI. Cicero discusses his political position in Rome with special regard to the Clodian danger.

1. *argumento*, etc.: *worthy contents*.

2. *Gallici belli*: it was this fear which furnished to Caesar the welcome excuse for attacking first the Helvetians and then Ariovistus. — *fratres*: cp. *Caes. B. G.* I, 33, 44; here ironical. *Q. Metellus Creticus*: not to be confused with the consul of this year, whose cognomen was Celer. This man had earned his name by restoring order in Crete; cp. *De L. Man.* 46. — τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ: *oil of myrrh on lentils*, proverbial of spending good energy on poor subjects. Lentulus, son of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, mentioned *De L. Man.*, seems to have inherited the limited intellect of his father. He is the *φακῇ* with a pun on his cognomen Lentulus (Lentilman).

3. *ἐπιφωνήματα*: *applause*. *Ἐπιφώνημα* was the *peroratio* in rhetoric, which used to be laudatory.

4. *Mucio, Calpurnio*: consuls in 132 B.C. — *Sullanorum*: the fields given to his veterans by Sulla. — *Volaterranos*: this

district had been confiscated by Sulla, but the courts had interfered and no distribution had taken place. Cicero thus, true to his general policy, advocated an action of conciliation, which should satisfy all interests, but probably, as usual, satisfied none. — **adventicia pecunia**: foreign revenues, from the new tributaries in the Orient whom Pompey had added to the Empire. — **agrariorum**: not “agrarians” in our sense, but “applicants for land grants.” — **exercitus**: Cicero believed that the safety of the state depended on the existence of a middle class, well off but not too wealthy. — **sentinam urbis**: the *proletarii* who would be settled on the new farms. — **solitudinem**: a strong expression, but not too strong in view of the Elder Pliny’s well-known words: *latifundia perdidere Italiam*. — **bello**: cp. above, sec. 2. — **Metellus**: a different judgment is expressed *Att.* I, 18, 5; *imminuit auctoritatem suam*, etc. — **ille alter**: L. Afranius; cp. *Att.* I, 18, 5; *ignavus ac sine animo miles*. — **nihil**: noun; *he is such a nonentity*.

5. **interceditur**: a *contio* was necessary to allow of such a transition from the patrician class to the plebeian. Clodius finally succeeded in 59, through Caesar.

6. **Non. Dec.**: the date of the arrest of the conspirators. — **absolutione**: cp. *Att.* I, 16. — **publicanos**: cp. *Att.* I, 17, 9. — **beatos**: *wealthy*, as often. — **piscinarios**: cp. *Att.* I, 18, 6; *ita sunt stulti, ut amissa r.p. piscinas suas salvas sperare videantur*.

7. **Pompeium**: who had treated the hero of the Catilinarian conspiracy very coolly. — **improbi**: Cicero’s usual expression for the *populares*.

8. **delicatae**: thus he had called the *jeunesse dorée* also, *Cat.* I and II. — **rei publicae**: dative. — **vafer**, etc.: Epicharmus, Sicilian, comic poet of the fifth century. The verse — in trochaic catalectic tetrameter — is frequently quoted. — *Νᾶφε κτλ.* *Sober be, be never trusting; sinews these are of the mind*. — **formam**: *outline*; technical term of painting; hence *quandam*, which Cicero always uses to mitigate a bold metaphor.

9. **tuo negotio**: Atticus had lent money to the Sicyonians which he was trying to collect. As a *populus liber* the Sicyonians were exempt from taxation. Perhaps the decree took also away the right to sue them before a Roman magistrate. — **illud senatus consultum**: unknown, but in some way interfering with

the repayment. — **pedariorum**: the *pedarii* were senators of the second class, probably those who had not yet sat on a curule chair; they lacked the right of voting. — **nostrum**: the senators of the first class. — **quod me**: it was customary to intrust the wording of a decree to certain senators whose names then appeared at the head of the decree. Cicero means that he had been thus chosen for another matter, while the part interesting Atticus had been tacked on to this as a "rider." — **P. Servilio**: at this time only of quaestorian rank, a *pedarius*. — **conventus**: meetings, for purposes of trials. — **nummulorum**: jocular colloquialism, as is *expresseris*, "squeeze out."

10. commentarium: now lost. — **Attico**: with a pun on his friend's sobriquet. — **Panormi**: Lucullus was long an exile in Palermo. — **soloeca**: the city of Soloecus in Cilicia, near Tarsus, was ill famed for its barbarous Greek (solecism). — **Latinum**: (*commentarium* sc.), also lost. — **poema**: not a third poem, but a third *commentarius* in poetical form, so that *poema* is appositive. Some lines of this work are still extant, among them the often ridiculed line: *O fôrtunatam natam me consule Romam.* — *Τίς πατέρ' αλγήσει* (εἰ μὴ κακοδαίμονες υἱοί): 'Tis a poor fellow who can boast only of his father. — **potius**: the passage is corrupt. Perhaps Cicero introduced into the beginning of the poem a laudation of his father and here defends this violation of the rules of good taste (Tyrrell). — *ἐγκωμιαστικά*: *laudatory*; *ιστορικά*: *historical*.

11. Quintus frater: ep. *Att.* I, 17. — **Cossinius**: Roman knight, friend of Atticus, and through him introduced to Cicero.

XII. In 61 Quintus had been sent to Asia as *propraetor*. While he was personally honest and free from rapacity, his administration had been marred by his uncontrollable temper. Cicero therefore had had him appointed for another year, to give him a chance to retrieve himself. Much against the will of both brothers, however, the governorship had been renewed for even a third year. Cicero wrote to Quintus to console him, and to admonish him to make this third year one of everlasting glory for its excellence. As an example of tactful, brotherly advice, and as a picture, both of the ordinary, and of the exceptional, way of governing a Roman province, the letter is one of the most fascinating documents.

1. **celeritate**: proverbial; cp. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 173 ff. — **unis**: the plu. of *unus* is regularly used with nouns lacking the sing. — **decessionis**: relief from office. — **praetoribus**: not the actual magistrates, but prospective candidates for a governorship of this rank.

3. **bene audire**: *good reputation*. The phrase is a Graecism.

6. **necessitudine**: the *publicani* were largely recruited from among the knights. On Cicero's close relations to them cp. *De L. Man.* 4.

7. **at enim**: *enim* originally, and so here, means *indeed*. — **quasi vero**: apology for the discomforts of others, rather than those of his brother. — **sit**: concessive. — **credo**: irony. — **nam**: with an ellipsis, (*the rest is easy*) *for*. — **delapsum**: the same simile in *De L. Man.* 41.

8. **non**: with *scribo*. — **pecuniae**: (*faciendae* sc.).

9. **in luce Asiae**: so *L. Man.* 7. For the description of the journeying of a governor, cp. the same speech, 38, 40, 41.

10. **legatos**: three in number. — **L. Aelius Tubero**: highly praised as a literary man. — **A. Allienus**: a supporter of Caesar. — **Gratidius**: of Arpinum, cousin of the Ciceros, hence *fratrum*.

11. **incubuerint**: *have begun to drift toward*. — **fides**: *reliability*. — **praestabis**: *be responsible for*.

12. **convictionibus, apparitionibus**: abstracts in a collective sense, as often; thus *servitia* in the *Cat.* "bands of slaves." — **convictiones** = *ei qui tecum vivunt, contubernales*, "your suite"; — **apparitiones**: the *apparitores* were the subaltern officials, mostly from the freedmen class. — **cohorte praetoris**: the escort of the praetor, friends, etc.; to have one's self enrolled in the *cohors praetoria* was a customary way of visiting foreign countries. Thus Catullus, the poet of this age, went to Bithynia with Memmius, and Caesar also was accompanied by a number of young men, whom he employed as *tribuni militum*; cp. the amusing description of their behavior before the expedition against Ariovistus, *B. G.* I, 39. — **rudis**: *novice, inexperienced*.

13. **sint aures**: this seems to have been one of Quintus's besetting sins. — **anulus**: seal ring, by which official authority was bestowed. — **vas**: *tool*. — **accensus**: a menial, generally a freedman. — **eo numero**: cp. *in hostium numero habere*.

—**laboris ac muneris**: Hendiadys. — **dederint**: the briber is as guilty as the bribed.

14. **credideris**: jussive, colloquial; G. 263, 2, b.

15. **provinciales**: Roman citizens living in the province. — **non quin** = *non quo non*; G. 541, N. 2. — **qui potes**: interrogative adverb. — **temporis**: *opportunity*. — **quicum**: old ablative sing.; G. 105, N. 3.

19. **corruptrice provincia**: the low moral standard of the Asiatic Greeks was proverbial. — **Paconi, Tusцени**: otherwise unknown men, whom Quintus seems to have offended by his justice and severity. — **ac**: *rather*. — **Mysi, Phrygis**: these two tribes were especially looked down upon. — **cupiditatem**: *the object of their desires*.

20. **ea tota**: neuter. — **ratio**: theory; the legal problems arising in the courts of the governor were simpler (*expedita*) than would be the case in Rome.

21. **satis faciendo**: after the sentence has been pronounced, the governor shall explain (*disputando*) the reasons for his decision and thus set at rest (*satis faciendo*) any grumbling. — **C. Octavius**: father of Octavianus Augustus. — **primus lictor**: also called *proximus*, because as highest in rank among his fellow-officers he walked immediately before the magistrate. The facts here mentioned refer to the praetorship, not the governorship of Quintus. — **quam**: with *diu*. — **Sullani**: the veterans of Sulla were ill famed for their rapacity; cp. Cicero's judgment, *Cat.* II, 20. — **vim**: on their part, *metum* on that of the victims. — **eodem iure**: their own laws.

21. **auxilia**: *resources*; the word refers to the legal means of redress from an unjust decision, such as the *conquestio* below, the appeal to another magistrate.

23. **Cyrus**: the Elder Cyrus, whose life Xenophon of Athens made the basis of a novelistic tale, outlining his ideal ruler. — **Africanus**: the younger, died 129, so that the *noster* must mean Roman. — **ab iis**: slight personification.

25. **aes alienum**: a favorite form of oppression consisted in forced loans on the part of the provincials from Roman bankers. The governor, of course, received his "rake off." — **civitatus**: dative, not ablative, because the loan was rather made for, than by, the states. — **liberatas**: by preventing false accounting

of interest. — **Samum, Halicarnassum**: at this time insignificant hamlets. — **seditiones**: factional strife about the city government was rampant in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and the interference of the Roman governor was constantly necessary. — **optimatum**: the men of wealth and position. It was the intentional policy of Rome to have the wealthier classes, rather than the Demos, rule. — **latrocinia**: the insecurity of the provinces was proverbial, and never completely suppressed. Abduction by robbers is one of the favorite novelistic motifs of imperial times. — **oppidorum latrocinia**: the plundering of the cities by Roman visitors. Cp. the speeches *In Verrem*, and the remarks in *L. Man.* 39, 40. — **calumniam**: information and false accusation as to crimes, leading to blackmail. — **aequaliter**: unequal distribution of taxes was one of the foremost opportunities for "graft."

26. vectigali aedilicio: contributions levied on the province to help defray the cost of the games given by the Aediles in Rome. Cicero himself, when governor of Cilicia, stoutly resisted similar demands. — **templum**: the Asiatics seem to have intended the building of a temple and monument to the two Ciceros, a not unusual proceeding in the provinces. — **lex**: *De Repetundis*.

27. beatissimos: *well-to-do*.

28. non enim: contrast this enthusiastic praise of the merit of the ancient Greeks with the slighting references to the Greeks of his own time made above.

29. Plato: in his *Republic*, 476 C, 473 D. — **is**: cp. the similar praise of Quintus's culture in the speech for Archias, 3, 32.

30. honores: allusion to the customary honorific decrees, statues, etc., offered by Greek cities to prominent men, lavishly and often ridiculously. Cp. below (31).

33. nuper: 60, when by a bill of Metellus the harbor duties in Italy were abolished, because the *publicani* had oppressed even Roman citizens. — **publicis**: (*vectigalibus* sc.). Under the system of tax farming, contracts without profit must have occurred, and offered great temptations for recouping by unjust oppression of the provincials. — **ita fuerunt**: even before the advent of the Romans the Greeks were subjects (of the Persians, of the Diadochi). — **Sulla**: he had levied in 84 a fine of 20,000 talents (\$2,350,000).

34. *afuturam fuisse*: *O.O.* for *abesset*.

35. *pactionibus*: special contracts as to the proportion of the provincial taxes to be paid by each community. — *legem censoriam*: the censors each time published the specifications for the farming of the taxes.

36. *societates*: joint stock companies for the farming of taxes, since the contracts were too big for any individual.

37. *iracundiam*: this defect in the character of Quintus showed also in his marital relations. — *doctissimis*: philosophers.

38. *plene*: *completely*. — *ab iracundia*: personification.

40. *sermonis*: *gossip*.

41. *bellum sempiternum*: *cp. Cat. IV, 22*.

42. *significationes*: *applause*, translation of the Greek *ἐπισημασίας*.

43. *reliqua*: *future*. — *qui nunc sunt*: with *hominum*, “contemporaries”; so *qui futuri sunt*, “posterity.” Latin relative clauses must often be rendered by English collectives or abstracts.

45. *laudarent*: imperfect on account of *fecisti*; translate by present. — *attineat*: limiting.

46. *actus*: he compares the three years of Quintus’s government to the three acts of a drama.

XIII. A bantering note revealing pleasantly the intimacy between the two friends.

1. *narro tibi*: colloquial, to give a vivid introduction to a statement otherwise not quite credible. — *actorum*: with jocular reference to the official *acta*, published this year for the first time.

2. *τρηχεῖ*: *Od. IX, 27*; “rocky, but a good nurse, and I, at least, cannot see a land sweeter than this.” — *haec igitur*: (*ad-dam sc.*).

XIV. After the Triumvirate had been formed Cicero awoke to a realization of the dangers threatening the existence of the republic from Caesar’s ambition and Pompey’s weakness. The letter presents a vivid picture of the political upheaval caused by the combination of the “bosses.”

1. *mihi*: on account of his activity in 63. — *sescenta*: used in a general sense, *countless*. Notice the regular omission of a second relative in the same case. *Statium*: a freedman of his brother, said to have great influence. — *Nec meum*: Terence, *Phormio*, 232. The infinitive is exclamatory. — *cetera*, etc.:

(*posita sunt* sc.), referring to his personal dangers. — **Clodi**: the tribune and arch-enemy of Cicero. — *ἄλις ὀρνός*: *enough oak*. A Greek proverb, referring to the alleged disgust of primitive man with his simple acorn fare. In English perhaps, *too much salt horse*. — *τυφλώττω*: *I am blind*. — *τῷ καλῷ προσπέπονθα*: *I love what is good*.

2. **peraeque**: with *offensum*. — **Bibulus**: the inefficient colleague of Caesar in the consulship. — **in caelo**: because he was constantly taking auspices. — **unus**, etc.: a famous verse from the *Annals* of Ennius (second century) referring to Fabius Cunctator, the hero of the Second Punic War. — **nostri amores**: colloquial, *our beloved*. — **adfixit**: by joining the Triumvirate. — **tenent**: the Triumvirs. — **via**: (*media* sc.).

3. **theatro, spectaculis, gladiatoribus**: extended use of the ablative of time. — **qua . . . qua** = *et . . . et*, borrowed from the usage of comedy. — **dominus**: Pompey; **advocati**: his friends. — **Apollinaribus**: July 6–13. — **mortuo plausu**: probably ablative absolute. The applause was weak, as if given by the powerless dead. — **Curio**: the younger Curio. At the time of this writing he was a bitter enemy of Caesar, but became his stanch adherent after 50, when he had been sufficiently bribed. — **inimici, hostes**: private enemies and political opponents. The subject is *tres viri* understood. — **Rosciae legi**: of 67, setting aside the fourteen rows behind the senators for the knights. — **frumentariae**: *lex Terentia Cassia*, fixing a maximum price for grain.

4. **Publius**: Clodius. — **negotium**: *trouble*, from Clodius. — **consularem exercitum**: the crowd of ex-consuls, or the backing which Cicero's consulship had won for him. — **illum**: Clodius. — **Cosconio**: a member of the commission of twenty appointed by Caesar to attack the land question. The insult consisted in asking Cicero to "step into a dead man's shoes," and at the same time giving him as little real power as had the shades of the dead. — *ἀσφάλειαν*: *safety, neutrality*, recommended by Atticus, hence *istam*. — **illi**: the *viginti viri*.

5. **legatum**: in Transalpine Gaul. — **periculi**: which threatened from Clodius. — **hoc**: (*periculum* sc.). — *ἀκκιζόμεθα*: *to act the dullard, play the part of the ostrich*. — *ἐν ἀνιγμοῖς*: *in allusions, a kind of cipher*. — **Caecilium**: the uncle of Atticus;

cp. *Att.* I, 1, 3. — **edicta**: Bibulus issued a flood of proclamations stigmatizing Caesar's acts as illegal.

XV. A letter dealing with the imminent danger from the Clodians.

1. **Pulchellum**: see *Att.* I, 16, 10, n. *Nostrum*, too, is ironical. — **denuntiat**: (*vim* sc.). Without an object the verb means *to subpoena*. — **eos**: the triumvirs. — **iudicium**: the trial threatened by Clodius, for the illegal execution of the conspirators.

2. **testem**: implying doubt as to Pompey's veracity, a doubt also expressed elsewhere. — **eo**: Clodius. — **fidem**: Clodius and Appius, his brother — formerly Cicero's friend; later, predecessor of Cicero in the governorship of Cilicia — promised Pompey not to proceed against Cicero. — **recepisse**: instead of *in se recepisse*, which is avoided on account of *sibi*. — **laturum**: *bear it, consider it*. — **manus dedisse**: not literally; it is a term from the gladiatorial arena, *to cry "enough."*

3. **celebratur**: during the usual morning calls. — **occurritur**: in the streets.

4. **Varronem**: M. Terentius Varro, the great Roman scholar; cp. *Introd.* to *F.* IX, 1. — **Publio**: Clodius.

5. **videro**: indicative, in spite of the *O.O.* to emphasize the temporal relation. — **ille**: Clodius, who would be tribune in 58. — **Pompeium**: object of *urgente*. — **βοῶπις**: Clodius's sister, the ill-famed Clodia. The word *large-eyed* refers to her renowned beauty, but also to her imperiousness, being an epithet of the goddess Juno.

6. **eos**: the triumvirs. — **sentias**: potential. — **eruptura**: violently. — **non . . . putem**: with this periphrastic way of expression, cp. the phrases in *L. Man.*: *videte quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis*; *restat ut dicendum esse videatur*; the periphrasis here is colloquial.

7. **Alexandri**: of Ephesus, who had written a didactic poem on geography, a subject which Cicero himself intended to work up. — **Numerium**: otherwise unknown.

XVI. On the political situation and the threats of Clodius.

1. **voculae**: colloquial diminutive.

2. **Sampsiceramum**: a nickname given to Pompey on account of his victories in the East. Sampsiceramus was the

prince of Edessa in Syria. — **locum**: his former affiliations after his return from the Orient, 62. — **illius partis**: of the triumvirs.

3. **possit**: cp. *Att.* II, 22, 6 *sentias*. — *βοῶπιδος*: cp. *Att.* II, 22, 5. — **nostrae**: ironical; she had made amorous overtures to him, which he had rejected. — **consanguineus**: brother, Clodius. — **terrores iacit**: continues the ironical reference to Clodius. As brother of the “large-eyed,” Juppiter, he hurls threats instead of thunderbolts. — **negat, fert**: he denies and boasts of (his intended attack on me sc.). — **comitiis**: October 18, when Clodius would be formally elected. — **declarato**: at the official proclamation of the result of the election.

XVII. April 20, 58, Cicero had been formally banished from Italy and its vicinity. He had, however, left Rome even before the bill had become law, shortly after its introduction, end of March. He contemplated going to Sicily, but upon receipt of the text of the edict, banishing him beyond the four-hundred-mile limit, changed his plans, and went to Greece, intending to proceed to Asia. The letters which he wrote during his exile, both to Atticus and to his family, belong to the most human documents ever written. In their abject despondency, their constant vacillation between joyous hope and gloomy despair, they reveal Cicero as a man swayed by every passing air, without any of the moral courage which his study of philosophy might have been expected to have given him, and yet with it all lovable, because in all his gloom he still finds time to think of the misery of those dear to him.

1. **Terentia**: in her letters to Cicero. — **miserrimus**: with verbs of feeling adjectives denoting the state of mind are more frequent than adverbs, a way inherited from comedy. — **ipsum**: my person, not my rank. — **idem**: this proud statement conflicts strongly with the expressions of utter dejection in other letters of this time.

XVIII.

1. **a Vibone**: he had asked Atticus (III, 3) to meet him at this place. — **rogatio**: bill, before it becomes law; he refers to the bill banishing him from Italy. — **correctum**: the original bill simply *interdixit aqua et igni*; an amendment limited him to countries outside the four-hundred-mile zone. — **illo**: for *illuc*, probably from old *illoc*; Sicily the ultimate goal. — **ante diem**

rogationis: when the bill should be passed, because it threatened punishment to any one sheltering Cicero. — **ne et**: instead of the expected **et ne**. — **recipiemur**: on account of the punishment. — **mi Pomponi**: addressing by name within the body of the letter is rare; the omission of the *praenomen* denotes intimacy. — **vivere**: during this year Cicero often speaks of his contemplated suicide, and repeatedly blames Atticus for having dissuaded him from executing it.

XIX.

1. **fuerat**: epistolary tense. — **et ut**: instead of *ut et*; cp. *Att.* III, 4, N. on *et ne*. — **in Epiro**: where Atticus had a country seat near Buthrotum, the Amaltheum. — **Asiam**: the plan was not carried out.

XX.

1. **ego**: in the beginning of a letter it contains an answer to a passage in the letter received. — **quod utinam**: *quod* serves as a connection with the preceding sentence. — **vitae**: another allusion to his intended suicide. It is hard to decide whether he was in earnest or whether such expressions are due to mere moodiness. Later on, when the Civil War had broken out, the same thought recurred to him, again without being translated into action. — **aliquam**: in spite of his unfeigned emotion, the rhetorical element in Cicero breaks through again and again, as here in the emphatic assonance. See also *Fam.* XIV, 2, and just below the double alliteration.

2. **Laenium**: Cicero always gratefully remembered the courage of this man who befriended him in spite of the heavy penalties provided.

3. **profecti sumus**: epistolary tense; he was just starting. — **a. d. II K.**: unusual form for *pridie*. — **petebamus**: imperfect of intended action, for the future of ordinary, not letter style. — **Cyzicum**: in Asia Minor; the plan was abandoned. — **rogem**: deliberative subjunctive. Notice the asyndeton, which shows the excitement of the writer. — **est**: emphatic position, "if there really is." — **confirmes**: jussive, colloquial for imperative. — **transactum est**: as elsewhere *actum est*; the thing is done for, everything is over. — **matrimonio et famae**: because of her marriage to one of the Pisos.

4. **teneas**: some property. — **familia**: Cicero had ordered

his slaves to be set free in case his property should be confiscated. This would, however, not apply to slaves who were the personal property of Terentia. It is evident that she had expressed some fear about their status. Such traits of selfishness which spoil the impression of self-sacrificing wife, otherwise gained from their correspondence during the exile, seem to have grown more prominent as Terentia grew older and seem to have been among the chief reasons for Cicero's divorce. — **essent**: secondary sequence because of *abisset*, and because *causa est* = *provisum est*. — **Orpheus**, etc.: slaves and freedmen. — **oppido**: colloquialism.

5. tempestatem: (*serenam* sc.). — **licitum**: colloquial for *licit*. — **viximus**: the completed perfect, as in Vergil, *fuimus Troes*, *Aen.* II, 325. — **vitium** . . . **virtus**: rhetorical antithesis.

6. Sicca: with whom Cicero had stopped on the way to Brundisium.

XXI.

1. in Epiro: cp. *Att.* III, 6. — **omne tempus**: Epirus was within the four-hundred-mile limit, as well as Athens, below. — **familiari**: *estate of a friend*. — **ut devorterer**: substantive clause, loosely construed; *but to stop, against this speak*, etc. — **devorterer**: technical term for a temporary sojourn. — **Autronio**: P. Autronius Paetus, a prominent member both of the first (65) and of the second Catilinarian conspiracy. Tried for this in 62, he went into exile in Epirus. — **quadridui**: (*viam abest* sc.). — **castellum**: the villa seems to have been fortified. — **cadebat**: almost accomplished apodosis of contrary to fact condition with protasis understood; G. 597, R. 2. — **hostes**: political opponents.

2. quod me: cp. *Att.* III, 5. — **spes**: that the decree of banishment would be rescinded; it had been rumored that this would be done very shortly. — **invidum**: Cicero blamed Pompey for not protecting him and ascribed his betrayal to jealousy on account of his prominence after the fall of Catiline. — **quouis**: archaic for *cuius*. — **ad medicinam**: *ad* = "fit for," "calculated to."

3. Candaviam: mountainous part of Illyria through which the way to Saloniki led. — **fratre**: Quintus was just returning from his governorship of Asia. — **huius generis**: *i.e.* letter-writing.

XXII.

1. **Quintus**: see *Att.* III, 7. — **siquis**: Cicero feared that his misfortune would lead to steps against his brother, whose government of Asia had been far from satisfactory, and who was afraid of charges *repetundarum*. — **animo**: Quintus's. — **lictores**: an ex-governor could not legally keep his *imperium* — the outward sign of which was the escort of lictors — in another province, except while traversing it on his way home. — **non videndi**: together, *avoiding*. — **vivendi**: *cp.* *Att.* III, 4.

2. **quantum**: *how little*. — **eo**: in his letter. — **a Pompeio**: after mentioning Pompey. — **Hortensium**: Cicero distrusted him because he had advised him to leave Rome. — **quorum**: *cp.* *Att.* III, 7, 2. — **firma**: *unchangeable*. — **fiet**: his suicide.

3. **beneficiorum**: services of his friends in Rome. — **litteras**: a copy of a letter imploring Pompey's mediation.

XXIII.

1. **idemque**: *and yet at the same time*. — **rogationis**: Clodius had moved a bill *ne referri neve dici liceret*, that no motion about Cicero's recall should be legal. — **hic**: *in these circumstances*. — **adflitem**: *iterative*. — **comitia**: (*consularia* *sc.*). This was also Pompey's view, *cp.* *Att.* III, 13. — **eodem**: Clodius stood for reelection, Metellus Nepos for the consulship. He, however, eventually proved friendly.

2. **oratione**: Cicero had written a speech against the Elder Curio, probably during the trial of Clodius whom Curio befriended. This he had kept under lock and seal. It had now somehow become public. To disown the authorship, as Cicero proposes doing, was a desperate, dishonorable step, excusable only on account of his desperate situation. — **ut scribis**: (*te facere* *sc.*). — **exciderit**: (*e manibus* *sc.*): has become public.

3. **iaceo**: expressive of his deep despair; *cp.* *Cat.* II, 2.

XXIV.

1. **de eo**: *cp.* *Att.* III, 12. — **ductum**: *cp.* *se duci*, *B. G.* I, 16. — **motum**: Clodius had begun to attack the triumvirs, especially Pompey. Atticus hoped that this would lead to his overthrow and a rupture among the triumvirs. — **tribunis**: they had promised to work for his recall.

2. **ut**: result clause; translate, however, by *as*. — **mentis errore**: *insanity*. — **fuisset**: hinting at his frustrated suicide.

— **eis**: the *invidi*; cp. *Att.* III, 4. — **Cyzicum**: he did not go. — **hoc**: ablative of cause. — **incolumem**: he was still afraid of a prosecution.

XXV.

1. **spe**: (*salutis* sc.), *cupiditate* (*litterarum* sc.). — **postquam videbatur**: action overlapping into the time of the main clause; G. 562. — **fieret**: future less vivid condition in *O.O.* — **magistratibus**: the tribunes. — **ad te**: to the Amaltheum. — **non quo**: always introduces a reason to be rejected. — **fugerem**: imperfect on account of sequence; translate by present. — **portu**: Buthrotum. — **abiecero**: future perfect, to denote the suddenness of the action.

2. **Sesti**: Sestius was among the incoming tribunes. — **quod scripsi**: cp. above *abiecero*; hinting at suicide.

3. **si**: causal; G. 590, N. 2. — **tantum**: *as little*. This letter is the most despairing of all those which Cicero wrote during his exile.

XXVI. Cicero's correspondence with his wife varies greatly in character. The letters written during his exile reveal Terentia as a woman of strong character, good business sense, and capable of self-sacrifice. Yet, other less agreeable traits somewhat offset these good qualities. See also *Introd.* to *Fam.* XIV, 4.

1. **Tulliolae**: diminutive of endearment. Tullia at this time was a grown and married woman. — **noli**: evidently Terentia had been complaining of the insufficient "newsiness" of his letters. — **nisi si**: *except in case*; G. 591 (b), 2, R. 2. — **timidi**: because he had been advised to meet Clodius's bands with like force.

2. **Pisonem**: C. Calpurnius P. Frugi, his son-in-law, one of the most energetic advocates of his recall. — **in novis**: cp. *Att.* III, 13. — **id**: the whole matter, not merely the hope. — **Crassum**: the triumvir, who had been Cicero's enemy ever since the attack upon him in the speech *De L. Man.* — **a Vestae**, etc.: it seems that Terentia had taken refuge with her sister, one of the Vestal virgins. Apparently she had entered into negotiations with bankers whose place of business was at the Tabula Valeria, a painting on the wall of the Curia Hostilia. Bankers in Rome, like the modern Neapolitan money changers, did their business on the streets. Possibly in the course of the proceedings regard-

ing the confiscation of her husband's property Terentia had been compelled to appear there to make oath about her share in the possessions. — *Vestae*: with *aede* understood, as often in colloquial speech. — *servavi*: from Catiline.

3. *de area*: because the house itself had been razed. — *in partem venire*: to share. — *negotium* = *res*; cp. *B.G.* III, 15. — *amas*: not to be taken literally. It is a set phrase of politeness, like *amabo te* = "if you please."

4. *longius*: to Cyzicus.

XXVII.

1. *sapere*: he was now about seven years old. — *fato*: Terentia seems to have been a woman of deep religious convictions; cp. *Fam.* XIV, 4, 1, *dii, quos tu castissime coluisti*. — *iis*: referring to Pompey; cp. *Att.* III, 7, 2. *Eos*, on the other hand, refers to Caesar, who had offered him the place of *legatus* in Gaul; cp. *Att.* II, 19, 5.

2. *mea valetudo*: Terentia had been worried by reports of an epidemic in Dyrrhachium; cp. below, 3. — *domi*: it would have been easier to avert the banishment than now to have the decree revoked. — *Lentulum*: consul 57.

3. *familia*: his slaves, who legally would have become public property. Cicero had determined to *manumit* them, if his estates should be confiscated; cp. *Fam.* XIV, 4, 4. — *Plancius*: quaestor of Macedonia at this time and a conniving friend of Cicero. — *Piso*: L. Calpurnius P. Caesoninus. As consul in 58 he had supported Clodius in his measures against Cicero. He now was proconsul of Macedonia, and Cicero feared — without any reason — hostile acts on his part. The orator henceforth pursued him with undying hatred. — *veniret*: characteristic clause. — *me ipsum*: because exile was equal to civil death.

4. *Pisonis*: his son-in-law. — *Quinto*: who lived in constant bickerings with his wife, the sister of Atticus, and her folks, as well as with his brother's family.

5. *vicum*: either a "block" in Rome or a farm in the country, belonging to Cicero or perhaps to his wife personally. She stood ready to sell it and employ the money in negotiations for his recall. — *miserum*: (*facere vis se.*). — *puerum p. p.*: in spite of his grief, the rhetorical element in Cicero breaks through in the alliteration and the *Figura Etymologica*. — *fortuna*: good luck.

6. celebritas: the great crowds. The word is never used by Cicero in any other sense.

XXVIII.

1. Piso: his son-in-law. — **Plancius:** cp. *Fam.* XIV, 1, 3. — **decedere:** at the end of Pompey's term of office. — **milites:** of his enemy, Piso Caesoninus; cp. *Fam.* XIV, 1, 3. — **faciendum ut:** for this circumlocution cp. *Att.* II, 22, 6, and the examples collected by Tyrrell in his Index *s.v.* *facere*.

2. Lentulus: the consul elect. — **Metello:** Nepos, who as tribune in 63 had been very hostile to Cicero. As consul, however, he proved friendly. — **profectum:** from *proficio*.

3. mi Pomponi: cp. *Att.* III, 4. — **Dyrrhachinos:** cp. *Fam.* XIV, 1, 7. Cicero was *patronus* of the town.

4. cuicuimodi: rare instead of *cuiuscuiusm.*; G. 105, N. 4. — **rem:** the actual repeal of his banishment.

XXIX. If the passage is not corrupt, we must conclude that Atticus had visited his friend at Dyrrhachium, although this would seem impossible in view of the general situation. At any rate, Cicero was once more in the clutches of despair, and grumbles in this letter because he thinks himself deserted even by Atticus. He has apparently given up all hope. The letter ought to be read in connection with the two following to appreciate the fluctuating mood of the writer.

XXX.

1. cum senatus consulto: on January 1, 57, the Senate had expressed the opinion that Cicero's banishment had been illegal. — **legum lationem:** the vote of the people by which the proposed recall would become valid. — **obtretabitur:** by Serranus, a tribune in the pay of Clodius. — **carebo:** that is, I shall return even at the risk of my life. Notice the determined tone.

XXXI. The popular assembly which was to decide on Cicero's recall had been broken up by Clodius's violence (January 25). Atticus's report of this occurrence threw Cicero back into the depths of despair. As a matter of fact, he was not recalled until August 4.

XXXII. On August 5, 57, Cicero had set foot again on Italian soil at Brundisium, and after a jubilant journey had entered Rome triumphantly on September 4. This letter describes the journey and entrance.

1. **recte**: without danger. On the insecurity of letters in the age of Cicero see *Introd.*, p. xxxiv. — **gratularer** = *gratias agerem*. — **vere**: *openly*, not *vera* = "the truth." — **fortiorem**, etc.: a remarkable statement after his abject attitude during the preceding sixteen months. — **erroris**: mistaken policy, in acknowledging that the original bill of Clodius was directed against him and withdrawing from Rome.

2. **dimisero**: without the idea of completed action.

3. **splendorem**, etc.: appositive to *quod*. — **ignoras**: Atticus was his banker.

4. **natalis**: the day on which the colony had been established, and the day on which the temple had been consecrated (*Livy*, X, 1). The semisuperstitious vein in which these dates are correlated, appears strange in the freethinker. — **Salutis**: the temple was next door to Atticus's house in Rome.

5. **nomenclatori**: Roman nobles were accompanied by a slave who whispered to them the names and circumstances of those whom they were to greet. — **Capenam**: the gate leading to the *Via Appia*; through it the triumphing generals used to enter. — **infimo**: (*gradu sc.*).

6. **eo biduo**: time within which. — **theatrum**: the 4th was the day of the *Ludi Romani*. — **mea opera**: on account of the overcrowding of the city by visitors. — **procurationem**: the office of procurator *annonae*. It was an extraordinary office, for ordinarily the provisioning of Rome was in the hands of the Aediles. — **decernerem**: vote for it. — **tuto**: *untrammelled*. — **Messallam**: the consul of 61. — **Afranium**: *cp. Att.* I, 16, 12. — **meo nomine**: in the way of our cheers. — **contionem**: here an address to the people.

7. **Messius**: a tribune and adherent of Pompey. — **Favonio**: quaestor, opponent of the triumvirs. — **domo**: Clodius had bought the plot and dedicated part of it as a temple of Liberty. The pontiffs were to decide whether this had been done in due form, and whether the space might again be used for profane purposes. — **superficiem**: *improvement*, as opposed to the area. For the *superficies* damages were to be paid. — **aliter**: in case the pontiffs had scruples, it seems that the place was to be razed, valued, and Cicero to be indemnified in cash.

8. *ut in secundis*, etc.: from an unknown tragic poet; Ribbeck, *F. T. R.* inc. 260. — *domestica*: the first hint of the troubles with Terentia. In this connection it is significant that in the following lines Cicero mentions only his brother and nobody else. — *quidam*: of the nobles.

XXXIII. The letter depicts the disordered state of affairs in the capital, which in the next year led to the meeting between the triumvirs at Lucca.

1. *superiora*: referring to *Quint.* II, 2, a letter about some private matters, and to the vexatious question of the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes of Egypt; cp. *Introd.* note to *Fam.* I, 7. — *legationes*: audiences to foreign ambassadors. — *reiciebantur*: that is, in the Senate meeting the matter was adjourned from the first to the thirteenth. — *res*: the matter of the Egyptian king. — *Milo*: the enemy and slayer of Clodius. — *adfuit*: to stand trial in the *Comitia Tributa*, where he was accused of rioting. — *Marcellus*: the *patronus* or attorney in our sense. — *honeste*: *successfully*. — *predicta*: *adjourned*. Four meetings were prescribed by law. — *ornandis*: supplying them with troops. — *C. Cato*: an enemy of Pompey, not to be confused with the *Uticensis*, whose *praenomen* was M. — *Lentulo*: governor of Cilicia. — *mutavit*: *put on mourning*, a favorite trick to arouse public sympathy.

2. *operae*: gangs maintained by Clodius that were used to drown effectively all opposition. — *perpetua*: here not *set*, but *throughout*. — *sane* = *valde*. — *nostris*: so the aristocrats were no less guilty of this lawless procedure. — *versus*: in these the Romans were always very proficient. — *Alexandream*: with Ptolemy. — *loco*: a scrimmage. Notice the abrupt style, suitable to the excitement of the occasion. — *rostris*: on the Forum where the trial was held. — *ne quid*: (*molesti accideret* sc.). — *Bibulo*, etc.: aristocrats. — *Quirinalia*: February 17.

3. *Apollinis*: (*templum* sc.), in the *Prata Flamini*, near the *Theatrum Marcelli*; perhaps Pompey's house was in the neighborhood. — *descripsit*: without mentioning any name. — *Africanus*: the younger, found dead in his bed, by the hand of an assassin, as rumor had it.

4. *contionario*: expression of contempt. — *accersit*: *metaplastic* for *arcessit*. — *Piceno*: Picenum was full of Pompey's

adherents, while Gallia, with Caesar's permission, could furnish recruits.

5. **Sestius**: cp. *Att.* III, 19, 2. Cicero defended him. — **Pupinia**: (*tribu* sc.). — **postulatus**: charged, accused. — **ad allegatos**: in addition to; *allegatos* = implicated. — **edidit**: gave information. — **sodalitates decuriatique**: guilds which had degenerated into political clubs; the *decuriati*, however, had been political from the beginning. — **discederent**: disband.

6. **Bestia**: Calpurnius B., member of the Catilinarian conspiracy. It is significant of Cicero's changed political position that he defended him. — **Domitium**: Calvinus, adherent of Caesar. — **Castoris**: on the south side of the Forum. — *προφκ.* etc.: brought out very suitably; in advance, because he was going to defend him.

7. **Pomponium**: Atticum. He married a certain Pilia. — **restituta**: after his return from exile. — **K. Quint.**: the Roman "moving day." — **Carinis**: between Forum and Esquiline. — **habitatores**: tenants, by name of Lamia. — **Olbiensem**: Olbia in Sardinia, where Quintus, as legate of Pompey, supervised the grain transports. — **Sardiniam**: then, as now, very malarial.

XXXIV. A bantering note, interesting because it reveals Cicero in the happy mood of the contented, cultured, country gentleman.

1. **tyrotarichi**: a dish of fish and cheese, proverbial for spare diet. — *μήπω*: do not boast before you see the end = one must not praise the day before the evening. — **aedificati**: Atticus, it seems, had asked Cicero to look around for a country home in his vicinity. Cicero reports that the only thing he can find for him is in the town itself. The perfect passive participle = "any kind of completed building." — **Antium**: the place is, he says, very much like your Greek seat. — *ἐν*: let this be my sweet home.

2. **Tyrannio**: a grammaticus, friend of Cicero, and the tutor of his son. — **Dionysi, Menophili**: two slaves of Atticus who at Cicero's request had been sent to him to set his library to rights. — **pegmata**: book cases. — **mi** = *mihi*: ethical dative. — **sillybis**: title slips, glued to the book roll and standing out from it; hence *illustrarunt*; the rolls can now be distinguished. — **gladiatoribus**: Atticus was speculating in bands of gladiators whom he hired out for festivals.

XXXV. L. Luceius was an orator and writer of some fame. Cicero, who knew him, though evidently not intimately, approached him in this carefully written letter with the rather impertinent request that he should write the story of his consulship. The elegance of diction, the care with which a light conversational tone is used to gloss over the seriousness of the request, make the letter one of Cicero's best. It was that, too, in his own judgment; *valde bella*, he calls it in a letter to Atticus (IV, 6, 4).

1. **subrusticus**: in the letters Cicero is very fond of adjectives compounded with *sub*. The prefix has a mitigating force, "somewhat, to a certain extent." — **genus**: character. — **commemoratio**: cp. *Arch.* 29.

2. **Italici**: 91–89, the so-called *Bellum Sociale*, by which the *Italici* tried to force the franchise from Rome. — **Civilis**: the struggle between Marius and Sulla, 87–81. — **coniunctene**: his real wish is, of course, a separate treatment; for this reason he enumerates famous examples: the so-called Sacred War, leading to Philip's of Macedon mastership over Greece, the war between the Romans and Pyrrhus (272), the Siege of Numantia (133). — **perpetuis**: *continuous*.

3. **Herculem**: in the famous allegory of Hercules between Pleasure and Duty; *Xen. Mem.* II, 1, 21. — **plusculum**: colloquial diminutive.

4. **reditum**: from exile, the year before. — **nihil**: this passage strikes the keynote of the Greek novel, the theme of which always is the vicissitudes of a loving couple. — **habet**: cp. *Verg. Aen.* I, 203, *et haec olim meminisse iuvabit*.

5. **misericordia**: a reminiscence of Aristotle's definition of the aim of tragedy as a purification through suffering and pity. — **Epaminondas**, **Themistocli**: favorite themes for rhetorical exercises.

6. **fabulam**: the technical term for the plot of a drama; from the same field the expressions *actus* and *mutationes* are taken. — **adsentatiuncula**: the diminutive is meant to mitigate the grossness of the expression, *a bit of flattery*.

7. **Alexander**: the Great. — **corporis**: cp. *Arch.* 30. — **Agelilaus**: a famous king of Sparta (401–360). His biography was written by Xenophon in a special treatise. — **pictam . . . fictam**: rhetorical rhyme; cp. Norden, *Kunstprosa*, 47 and Appendix. —

Timoleonti: Timoleo of Corinth aided the Sicilians in their struggle for independence. — **praeconium:** cp. *Arch.* 24. — **Hector Naevianus:** the *Hector Proficiscens*, a tragedy by Naevius; cp. *Fam.* XV, 6, 1, where the verse is quoted in full.

8. **ipse:** he carried out this threat in his epic *De Consulatu*, and in two other lost writings (*Att.* I, 19, 10).

9. **gloriola:** diminutive of (assumed) modesty.

10. **commentarios:** notes, as material for the work of Lucceius; perhaps referred to *Att.* IV, 11, 2.

XXXVI. P. Lentulus Spinther (a nickname taken from an actor, and therefore avoided by Cicero), as aedile in 63 had energetically aided the consul in his fight with the conspirators. As consul he had the Senate pass a resolution that the governor of Cilicia should restore King Ptolemy Auletes of Egypt, who had taken refuge in Rome from his rebellious subjects. It so happened that Lentulus himself received this province. In the meantime the adherents of Pompey began to work for his receiving the commission instead of Lentulus. There was a long dispute, in which Cicero took the part of Lentulus.

1. **alterum:** notice the chiasmic arrangement; the first *alterum* referring to *benevolentiam* and the second to *certior fias*. Cicero's rhetorical training often breaks through even in his simplest letters. Cp. notes on *Fam.* XIV, 2, 4. — **ut diligam:** an appositive *ut* clause with *alterum*. — **temporum:** circumstances. — **causae:** if the case is right, the construction is ante-classical, although repeatedly found in Cicero. — **recte:** *safely*; see *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

2. **quod scire vis:** this relative clause is the subject of *difficile est*; the interrogative clause *qua*, etc., is in apposition to *quod*. — **audeo:** (*scribere* sc.). — **quosdam:** Pompey. — **debuerunt, potuerunt:** *iuvare* is complementary to both verbs; the peculiar arrangement is probably due to the building of the Kola (*te . . . debuerunt = et . . . potuerunt*, eleven syllables each); cp. Norden, *Kunstprosa*, 225 ff. — **temporis:** *situation*. — **quondam:** during his exile. He is harking back to his suspicions about the envy of Pompey. — **ut:** explanatory. — **voluntatemque:** G. 481, n. — **percupidum:** like *sub*, *per* is very often used in colloquial style for compounding; it has strengthening force. — **Hortensium:** the orator and rival of Cicero, a confirmed optimate. — **Lucullus:** the *pontifex maximus*. His support was

especially valuable on account of the religious scruples connected with the restoration. — **Racilium**: tribune. — **officii, sententiae**: it does not seem justified to criticize this statement, as Tyrrell does, contrasting the words as “obligation” and “real view.” For either way Cicero’s words would have authority. He is simply indicating his two motives in supporting Lentulus.

3. **consularibus**: who were the leading men of the Senate, like our committee chairmen. — **illis**: during the discussions. — **intellexerim**: restrictive, *without inquiring too closely*. — **praestanti**: with *liberalitate*. — **cupiditatis**: objective genitive with *opinionem*. Cp. *Fam.* I, 1, 3. — **Caniniano**: C. Caninius Gallus, tribune, had moved that the restoration should be entrusted to Pompey. — **ornamentis**: not equipments, but honors.

4. **auctoritas**: an expression of the sentiment of the Senate, which had not become a formal decree. It was upon such an *auctoritas* that Cicero himself declared himself willing to return to Italy, even before his formal recall. Cp. *Att.* III, 26. — **cui: auctoritati**. — **ut**: explanatory to *ea auctoritas*. — **studium**: *party feeling* (Tyrrell). — **teneas**: causal subjunctive. — **facultatem habitura**: *to offer an opportunity*. — **Sibyllae**: see above (2). This was advising open disobedience to the state. It is difficult to believe that either Pompey or Cicero actually meant such advice to be followed. At any rate, as the writer says in the next sentence, success only might perhaps excuse such high handed doing.

5. **cecidisset**: impersonal; *shall turn out well*. — **offensum**: *defeat*; cp. *offensio belli*, *L. Man.* 26.

6. **placebat**: epistolary tense. — **fidem**: give a guarantee. — **regionem**: location. — **placuisset, putavi**: epistolary tenses.

7. **tuis**: because Lentulus had worked for the recall of Cicero. — **hominum**: the nobles, estranged from whom Cicero had begun to turn to the triumvirs. — **vetere sententia**: his middle position, working for harmony between the Senate and the *Ordo Equester*. — **nostra**: with *constantia*.

8. **his**: after the recall. — **novitati**: his being a *homo novus*. — **evolare**: notice the metaphor. — **meae**: *fortunae* (Tyrrell).

9. **inflammatus**: adjective, not participle. — **liberalitatis**: objective genitive. — **expressiora**: *more marked* (Tyrrell). — **aliquantum**: instead of *aliquid* and with *cum* instead of *si*, to

elevate the supposition into the realm of reality; *if, as is to be expected*. — **haec**: of that nearest the writer; here in Rome. — **videatur**: (let me say that *sc.*). —

10. plus valent: the triumvirs. — **lege Sempronia**: according to a law passed by C. Gracchus, the Senate must name the provinces before the consuls were elected. The law was not repealed, but no mention of Gaul was made.

11. filia: she had been betrothed to Furius Crassipes, her second husband, from whom she was soon divorced. — **humanitatem**: *courtesy*. — **quem**: notice the stately and felicitous closing formula.

XXXVII. M. Marius was one of Cicero's close friends. The letter was written during the celebration of the dedication of the Theatrum Pompei, the first permanent stage in Rome, and of the temple of Venus Victrix by Pompey. The gout had kept Marius on his country seat near Stabiae, in the vicinity of Naples, and Cicero undertakes to console his friend for his loss. Hence the probably intentionally exaggerated, carping tone of the letter.

1. fructus: *enjoyment*. — **paene solus**: the fame of the celebration had attracted Roman society from its favorite fall and winter haunts in the vicinity of Naples. — **perforasti**: probably trees had been cut down in such a way that the cubiculum enjoyed an unobstructed view of the bay. — **lectiunculis**: diminutive, to show the lightness of the literature selected and the desultory character of the reading; *reading this and that*. — **mimos**: half pantomimic dances, with a libretto. The performers wore no masks, and the character of the performance was low, so that it pleased the mob very much. Contrary to our custom the performances began early in the morning, and as there were no reserved seats people had to get up very early in order to secure a good place; hence *semisomni*: *still half asleep*. — **Sp. Maecius (Tarpa)**: the manager of the entertainment.

2. stomachi: here used of taste, not of anger. — **honoris causa**: one of those plays on words of which Cicero is inordinately fond; to honor the occasion, and to save their reputation (Tyrrell). — **deliciae**: *favorite*. — **Aesopus**: a famous actor, but now rather old and decrepit. — **desinere**: *stop acting*. — **iurare**: probably in some impressive scene, where an oath was administered. As Cicero later on mentions the *Equus Troianus* of Nae-

vius (or Andronicus), it has been not unreasonably conjectured that this was the oath sworn by the traitor Sino; cp. Verg. *Aen.* II, 154 f. — **apparatus**: *staging*. Evidently in Cicero's time the setting of a play had attained the same inordinate importance as on the modern American stage; cp. the six hundred mules and three thousand bowls and the number of participants in a stage fight. — **Clytaemestra**: a tragedy by Accius, treating of the murder of Agamemnon.

3. Protopeni: a Greek slave who read to his master, the ancients never reading in our soundless way. — **ne**: affirmative particle. — **ludos**, etc.: comedy and tragedy had been adopted and adapted from Greek originals, while the *ludi Atellani*, an improvised Pulcinello performance (see A. Dieterich, *Pulcinella*), were of Oscan, *i.e.* Campanian origin. — **senatu**: like other noble Romans, Marius held office in the municipal town near which his estate was situated, Italian towns in antiquity, as they do to-day, including not only the people within the city settlement proper, but also a number of outlying hamlets and farms. The municipia were in reality governed by the Decuriones, but these country folk loved to adorn their office with high-sounding names, aping the government of Rome. There seems to have been a *senatus* in either Stabiae or Pompeii, with one of which towns the Stabianum of Marius would be incorporated. Even at a later date than this, Oscan was the prevailing language of this Samnite town, which had become Romanized only a little while before, when Pompey settled some of his veterans there and gave it the name by which it is known to us. — **via Graeca**: the joke is somewhat obscure. It would seem that one of the roads by which the Stabianum might be reached was called *via Graeca*, and that Marius, for some reason, disliked this road. — **athletas**: gymnasts in the Greek style (boxing, wrestling, disk-throwing, etc.). To flatter his correspondent's dislike of Greek manners Cicero contrasts these men with the national prize fighters, the gladiators. — **operam et oleum**: a proverb = to make a complete failure. — **venationes**: such fights with beasts were a favorite entertainment. The sentiment uttered here by Cicero does credit to his character, both in regard to man and to beast. — **misericordia**: according to Pliny, *N. H.* VIII, 20 f., the almost human behavior of the animals at this

occasion came near exciting a riot among the spectators, who implored mercy for them.

4. **Galli Canini**: the inversion of the nomen gentile and the cognomen is colloquial. L. Caninius Gallus, see *Fam.* I, 7, 2. In 55 he was accused, and Cicero undertook his defense to please Pompey. — **Aesopus**: an allusion to the facts told in § 2. — **artem**: (*rhetoricam* sc.). — **rogatu**: a veiled allusion to Cicero's difficult position. He had intended to found a middle party, holding the balance between the Caesarians and the Pompeians, but had failed in the attempt. He therefore turned for support to Pompey, to whom he believed himself indebted for his recall from exile, and stooped to many disagreeable actions in order to oblige the vacillating "boss."

6. **subinvitaras**: *had hinted at*. — **paeniteret**: see the introductory note.

XXXVIII. The series of letters to Trebatius, to which this letter to Caesar forms the introduction, is among the most enjoyable in the whole correspondence of Cicero. C. Trebatius Testa was a young, talented, and witty lawyer, seventeen years younger than Cicero, who felt himself attracted to him by his humorous vein. He introduced him to Caesar, whose *cohors amicorum* in Gaul he joined. He did not like the severe camp life, and this gave occasion to Cicero for writing him a number of letters redounding with good-humored raillery, all advising Trebatius to stay. He did, and became a friend of Caesar's. He lived to a ripe old age, as a recognized authority on law, so much so that Horace introduced him as an impartial judge in *Sat.* II, 1.

1. **me alterum**: *my "alter ego."* — **quocumque**: Cicero was a member of a commission appointed by Pompey to settle the question of the metropolitan grain supply. Furthermore, Pompey had offered him the position as one of his *legati* in Spain. — **com-moratio**: Pompey did not go to Spain, but remained in Rome. — **dubitatio**: he did not want to leave Rome while his arch-enemy Clodius was there. — **sperasset**: a compliment to Caesar, benefits from whom were certain, while those from Cicero were only probable, hence the contrast with *expectare*. — **prolixè**: adverb, because *promittere* is here used absolutely.

2. **testis**: *proof*. — **Balbo**: C. Cornelius Balbus, friend of both

Caesar and Cicero. He held the office of *praefectus fabrum* (chief engineer) in Caesar's army, but stayed mostly in Rome as the diplomatic and financial agent of his commander. — **Iteius**: the name is conjectural, and the man unknown. — **regem**: on account of his insignificance. — **Leptae**: unknown. — **manus**: gesture both of surprise and prayer; cp. *divinum*, and Hor. *Car.* III, 23, *caelo supinas si tuleris manus*. — **invitatu**: colloquial form.

3. vetere verbo: some hackneyed phrase. — **Milone**: T. Annius Milo was a candidate for public office, but had small chances since he was Caesar's enemy. Cicero seems to have felt constrained to write a colorless commendatory letter to Caesar on his behalf. — **more Romano**: hence seriously. — **familiam ducit**: *is at the head of his profession*, a proverbial phrase. — **tribunatum**: the usual office given to young Romans in the suite of the commanding general. See the amusing description of their behavior during the Ariovistus panic, *B.G.* I, 39. — **praefectura**: some easy or subordinate command. — **gloriolae**: depreciating diminutive; *some cheap glory*. — **de manu in manum**, legal phrase. — **putidiusculi**: colloquial.

XXXIX. Trebatius did not like camp life, had not found the hoped-for warm reception on Caesar's part, and was blaming his friends for not recommending him urgently enough. He was talking about returning to Rome. Cicero proves to him that he is in the wrong and admonishes him to be steadfast.

1. Balbus: see to *Fam.* VII, 5, 2. — **legituma**: when feasible. — **commendationis**: genitive explanatory of *accessio*. — **vulgaris**: *commonplace*. — **ineptias et desideria**: hendiadys. — **istas**: mentioned in Trebatius's letter. — **consilio**: attracted antecedent. — **hoc**: *i.e.* your absence. — **Medeae**: in the tragedy of that title by Ennius. The line is written in eight acatalectic trochees. — **gypsatissimis**: *with too much paint*. Actors appearing in female parts whitened face, hands, and arms. — **multi**: the prophet is least honored in his own country. The first line is a catalectic trochaic tetrameter, the second an acatalectic one.

2. extrusissemus: jesting; Trebatius needed pushing. — **cavere**: legal term; to assist with legal advice. — **Britannia**: Caesar was preparing his second expedition to Britain. Trebatius is jestingly warned to beware of the tricks of the British

charioteers (*B.G.* IV, 33), fabulous rumors of which had reached Rome.

XL. Another answer to a similar complaint.

1. **quid proficiam**: Cicero seems to have become somewhat suspicious as to the success of his efforts. — **in Balbo**: he evidently thinks that his own influence with Caesar is not strong enough. — **Quinto**: he was in Gaul as legate to Caesar. He was to distinguish himself during this very year; cp. *B.G.* V, 38 f. — **nihil**: Britain, the seat of the Cornish tin mines, had at first loomed up before the Romans as an El Dorado.

XLI. The letter reproves Trebatius, who was impatient because his expected good luck was so long in coming. In contrast to the other letters of the series, its tone is very serious, and it contains hardly any of the usual good-natured raillery.

1. **Quinto**: see to *Fam.* VII, 7. — **aliquando**: showing the impatience of the writer. — **conlaudare**: *give unstinted praise*. — **urbanitas**: the numerous attractions of city life. — **subimpudens**: *somewhat*. — **syngrapham**: *a draft*. — **Alexandream**: Ptolemy Auletes (*Qu.* II, 3; *Fam.* I, 7), when a fugitive in Rome, had borrowed money from the Roman lenders. When his notes fell due he refused payment.

2. **consilio**: as a jurist. — **provinciam**: see to *Fam.* VII, 5, 1. — **ne dimiseris**: *G.* 263, 2 b. — **perferto, exspectato, praestabo**: notice the slight legal tinge in the use of the second imperative (*G.* 268, 2), and in the last-mentioned word.

3. **vos**: the jurists, who love to quote precedents. — **Cornelio**: Q. C. Maximus, the law instructor of Trebatius. — **non audiam**: *jesting*.

XLII.

1. **Equo**: a tragedy by either Naevius or Andronicus. — **sero sapiunt**: (*Phryges* sc.), proverbial = repentance is often too late, because the Trojans repented too late of the rape of Helen, or of admitting the wooden horse. — **vetule**: colloquial, like our *old man*. — **primas**: (*epistulas* sc.). — *φιλοθέωρον*: with an allusion to Trebatius's fondness for all kinds of spectacles. He had refused to go to Britain. — **intectus**: the army was now in winter quarters; on the joke itself cp. *Fam.* VII, 10, 2. — **usquequaque**: a catalectic trochaic tetrameter, probably also from the *Equus Troianus*.

2. **cenitarem**: frequentative: *if it were my custom to dine out*. — **Cn. Octavius**: he had several times pestered Cicero to dine with him (*Fam.* VII, 9). — **bellus**: *decent*; somewhat slangy.

3. **Italiam**: where Caesar often spent his winters. — **Romano more**: cp. *Fam.* VII, 5, 3. — **negent**: subjunctive by attraction. — **respondere**: with a *double entendre*; to answer and to give legal advice. — **Samarobrivae**: city of the Ambiani, on the Somme, now Amiens. Here used with sarcasm.

XLIII. Written toward the end of the year when the army was in winter quarters. The letter is a fine example of Cicero's skill in playing on the double meaning of words.

1. **ultra**: without solicitation on Trebatius's part. — **eo**: Caesar.

2. **frigeas**: the typical Roman horror of the cold northern climate. — **Mucio et Manilio**: P. M. Scaevola and M'. M., two prominent jurists of the second century B.C. Cicero jestingly quotes them as authorities for his common sense advice; hence *abundares*, subjunctive of informal *O.O.* — **sagis**: cp. *intectus*, *Fam.* VII, 16, 1. — **calere**: *you are having a hot time*, referring to the revolt of Ambiorix (*B.G.* V, 26 f.). — **cautior**: Trebatius had refused to accompany Caesar to Britain. For his fondness for swimming cp. *Hor. Sat.* II, 1, 8. — **andabata**: gladiators who fought on horseback with their eyes covered. — **defraudare**: Trebatius was very fond of these spectacles; cp. *Fam.* VII, 16, 1.

4. **attraham**: subjunctive in causal relative clause. — **fratres**: Cicero pokes fun at the Roman custom of enlisting the support of foreign tribes by the bestowal of titles; for the facts cp. *B.G.* I, 33. — **aut**: iambic senarius, from *Ter. Heaut.* I, 1, 34.

XLIV.

1. **interregnis**: during this year there were a number of *interregna* — times when no legally chosen consul was in office — and business was carried on by an *interrex* appointed by the Senate for a period of five days. During the *interregnum* all law business was at a standstill. — **binas advocaciones**: an *advocatio* is a period granted for seeking legal assistance. The defendants (*ei, unde petitur*, namely money), Cicero means, should ask each successive *interrex* for two such periods and thus indefinitely postpone the trial.

2. **ecquid fit**: slangy, like our "something doing." — **signa**: a pun on the double meaning of *signum*; *sign* and *statue*. For the statues on Cicero's Tusculanum see *Fam.* VII, 23. — **consuli**: technical term for the seeking of legal advice. — **Samarobrivae**: the word may be either nom. plu., which is rather unusual except with names of persons — towns like *Samarobriva*, — or it may be construed as locative, with *collocutiones* understood. In that case, *collocutiones* may be interpreted as *interviews with clients*. — **sermo**: *gossip*. — **Laberius**: a Roman knight and writer of *mimi*. The figure of the young Roman coming back from the northern campaign as poor as he had gone would naturally appeal to the comic writer. Swashbuckling soldiers of fortune were favorite personages of the New Comedy. — **Valerius**: a jurist.

3. **honestatem**: *reputation*.

XLV. A letter by Cicero's brother Quintus, written after he had been informed of the manumission of Tiro. It shows clearly the general esteem in which the whole family held the young man.

1. **ita . . . ut**: a common form of affirmation; cp. *Cat.* IV, 11. — **fortuna**: the *misfortune* (of slavery).

2. **Stati**: a freedman of Quintus; cp. *Att.* II, 19, 1. — **bona**: *fidelitas* and the other good qualities of Statius.

XLVI. C. Scribonius Curio came of a noble family. Splendidly talented, the young man had spent his early youth in wild dissipations. Cicero took great interest in him, rescued him from ruin, and reconciled his father with him. In return for this kindness Curio had been one of the active workers for the return of Cicero from exile. He was now quaestor in Asia. Later on he deserted the party of the nobles, won by Caesar's munificence in paying his debts. He fell, fighting for Caesar in Africa, 48 B.C.

1. **requiri**: (*officium* sc.). — **in quo**: *as far as*. — **amorem**: with double meaning; the sentiment and its expression. — **putarem**: restrictive subjunctive. — **summum**: *at the most*.

* 2. **afuisse**: in Asia. — **dolui . . . laetor**: notice the difference in tense: *I did grieve, but that is a thing of the past, and only joy over your achievements is left*. — **optatis**: the use of the participle as a noun is not classical; G. 437. — **revertare**: jussive, with *obsecrare*, but without *ut*. — **meritorum**: his assistance in effecting Cicero's recall. — **puer**: see the introductory note.

XLVII. A letter of condolence to Curio, whose father had just died.

1. *amoris . . . mei*: to avoid *tui*, the objective genitive after *amoris*, the prepositional phrase has been used. Notice the word order, by which words of the same character — here the pronouns — are placed next to each other; G. 681. — *egere*: *spero* is here used simply as a verb of thinking; G. 531, N. 4.

XLVIII.

1. *epistularum*: a brief résumé of the rhetorical division of letter writing, somewhat pedantic, as would befit the position of the writer toward the addressee; cp. *aetas ingravescens*, *Fam.* II, 1, 2. — *certissimum*: *undeniable* (Tyrrell). — *facermus*, etc.: the sequence is influenced by the perfect *inventum est*. — *scriptores*: regularly appointed correspondents; cp. *Fam.* VIII, 1, 1. — *nuntios*: casual information, which might be oral. — *temporibus his*: referring to the complicated political situation. The *interregna* succeeded one the other, Pompey was generally suspected to aim at the dictatorship, finally when the consuls had been elected, the news of the annihilation of Crassus at Carrhae reached the city. — *audeam*: if the letter should be opened by the wrong person, the two “bosses” might be bitterly offended.

2. *quaedam*: with an adjective *quidam* heightens the attribute; G. 313, R. 1. — *statueris*: translate as if the sentence were written in this order: *in iis artibus elaborandum esse (tibi), quibus eae laudes (praiseworthy actions, deserts) comparantur, quarum gloriam adamaveris*. The antecedents have been attracted into the relative clauses.

XLIX. A letter bespeaking Curio's support for the candidacy of Milo. Milo was trying to have himself elected consul for the year 52, but Clodius (and Pompey) were working against him and brought it about that no consuls at all were elected. It was in the course of the fights accompanying these intrigues that on January 20, 52, Milo and Clodius met near Bovillae. During the ensuing brawl Clodius was killed, Milo was accused of his murder (*de vi*), and had to flee into exile. Pompey, in the meanwhile, had become sole consul.

1. *Villium*: see *Hor. Sat.* I, 2, 64. — *adventus*: *time of arrival*.

2. *novitate*: *unprecedented character of the crisis* (Tyrrell). — *vel*: *even though*.

3. **locavi**: *put out at interest* (Tyrrell). — **gratosorum**: to be taken with *in suffragiis*, influential in gaining votes; cp. *gratiosam*, below.

4. **dux**: the nominative with *opus est* is occasionally found; G. 406. Notice the emphatic position of the word. — **ventorum**: for the metaphor cp. the better known *aura popularis*. *Quidam* and *quasi* are added to mitigate the boldness of the comparison. — **si . . . potes**: a breviloquy due to the writer's hurry; he really wanted to say, *si me existimas, quod existimare potes ex eo, quod*. — **laudi**: *reputation* (Tyrrell). — **Annio**: the judgment is very flattering, compared with the actual character of this ruffian, who on reading Cicero's speech in his defense remarked that he was glad it had never been delivered, because he would have been unable to enjoy the excellent fish of Marseilles.

5. **mea salus**: because Milo had worked for his recall.

L. T. Fadius, not to be confused with the M. F. of *Fam.* VII, 23, had as tribune in 58 worked for Cicero's recall. He had just now been sent into exile himself. While the note is not in itself of great interest, yet it is a beautiful specimen of that polite *urbanitas* prevailing in the good Roman society of the times.

1. **tuli**: perfect, in spite of *iam diu*, because the writer is thinking only of the momentary effect of the news. — **colligas**: jussive, without *ut*, a construction of older times and therefore appropriate to the conversational style. — **actum est**: several times in Cicero in the sense of *he fares best*, not in the usual meaning of *everything is over*. On the conditions in Rome at the time see *Fam.* II, 6.

2. **fortunas, liberos**: it seems that Fadius had not been punished by confiscation of his property, and as he was allowed to stay in Italy, he had an opportunity to see his family; cp. also *levissima* in § 1. — **sis habiturus**: hinting at his prospective restoration. — **reprehendatur**: characteristic. — **ut**: *as*. — **alicuius**: Pompey. — **meus**: notice the elegant but not binding formula of the close.

LI. While consul in 52, Pompey had a law passed that no consul or praetor should become governor of a province immediately after his year of office, but that an interval of five years must elapse before they could be sent to the provinces.

As this would make it impossible to appoint governors for 51 and the following years, the provinces were for the time of transition to be allotted to those ex-praetors and ex-consuls who had not yet administered a province. The law, innocent enough on its surface, was directed against Caesar, whose term of office would expire in 49, and who had signified his intention to stand for election in that year. Among the officials affected by the bill was Cicero, who was given the province of Cilicia. The present governor of that district was Appius Claudius Pulcher, brother of the demagogue Clodius.

1. **amicior**: Appius had been an enemy of Cicero, but to oblige Pompey, who was related to Appius by marriage, Cicero had become reconciled with him. — **accipere**: (*possem* sc.). — **coniunctione**: both were augurs. — **quaeso**: with an object clause; a rare use, though Cicero has it with an object infinitive.

2. **eius**: partitive; G. 369. — **quasi**: *so to speak*, introduces a metaphorical expression; G. 602, N. 2. — **quod**: adverbial accusative, *as far as*. The whole note is a model of polite insignificance. It had no effect, and the later correspondence of the two men was far from pleasant.

LII. M. Caelius Rufus, one of the young men about town, was at this time one of Caesar's ardent adherents. He moved in the best circles and was for a time most intimate with the notorious Clodia. He would naturally be a very good newsmonger, and was therefore asked by Cicero to keep him posted about Roman affairs during his governorship. His correspondence fills the whole of Book VIII, thus affording us an opportunity to compare him with Cicero as a writer of letters. See also the interesting sketch of the man in Boissier, *Cicero and his Friends*, pp. 159–208.

1. **discedens**: Caelius had accompanied Cicero part of the way. — **paravi**: a professional news writer. Such men wrote for the Roman nobles abroad all the political and social news for a consideration and were thus the forerunners of our modern journalists. Since 59 their work had been much lightened. A bill of Caesar's provided for the publication of the *Acta Diurna*, an official publication, the first *Gazette*, containing short résumés of the Senate meetings, the Comitia, and also legal, military, and social news. — **adrogantiae**: judicial genitive. — **volumen**: either

a package of letters, or the news, not being letters proper, were written in book form.

2. **operarii**: *hacks*. — **magnopere**: in the sense “*at all*” it is rare in classical Latin. — **comitiis Transpadanorum**: Caesar was said to contemplate the election of *quattuorviri* by the towns north of the Po, which were in his Cisalpine province. This would make these provincial towns Roman *municipia*. — **Cumarum**: *tenus* with the genitive is rare, and found only with nouns in the plural; G. 417, 14. On his return journey to Rome, Caelius had first heard these rumors at Cumae. — **Marcellus**: M. Claudius Marcellus, consul of this year, an opponent of Caesar. — **rettulit**: to the Senate. — **successione**: the question of Caesar’s successor, which the bill mentioned in *Fam.* III, 2 necessarily brought up. — **sane quam**: *about*.

3. **offendisti**: Cicero met him near Tarentum. — **solet**, etc.: complaints about Pompey’s reserve and duplicity are numerous in Cicero’s correspondence; cp. *Att.* II, 22, 2.

4. **Caesarem** (*attinet* sc.). This was the year of the fight with the insurgent Gauls (*B. G.* VIII), and all kinds of rumors seem to have been current in Rome. — **susurratores**: a very rare word, perhaps made by Caelius. — **quod opinor**: playing on the double meaning of *equitem*; “cavalry” and “horseman.” — **vapulasse**: *verbatim* corresponding to our use of “whip.” — **Bellovacos**: in the northwestern part of Gallia Belgica; cp. *B. G.* VIII, 11. — **Domitius**: L. D. Ahenobarbus, one of the chief enemies of Caesar. During the Civil War he was the incapable commander at Corfinium. — **manus**: he shouts it out, with his hands as a speaking trumpet. — **subrostrani**: loafers near the Rostra. — **capiti**: a proverb; see Otto, *Sprichwoerter*, p. 75. — **Pompeio**: this Q. Pompeius was one of Milo’s opponents, hence hostile to Cicero. — **Baulis**: Bauli was a villa settlement between Misenum and Baiae. — **embaeneticam**: the word is hopelessly corrupt. Various corrections have been proposed, none of which is satisfactory. This much is sure, that it must contain some slighting remark as to Pompey’s occupation. — **tuus**: ironical, since Plancus was an enemy of Cicero. — **politici**: his book *De Re Publica*; on its intended practical bearing, see O. E. Schmidt, *Cicero’s Briefwechsel*, p. 11, n. 3; p. 75.

LIII.

1. **Corcyrae**: Corfu. — **Sybotis**: between Corfu and the Greek mainland. — **Araus**: probably a freedman of Atticus. — **Eutychides**: a Coreyrean, who through the good offices of Atticus had become a Roman citizen. — φιλοπροσηνέστατα: *very courteously*. — **Saliarem**: the banquets of the Saliarian priests were famous for their luxuriousness. — **pedibus**: Cicero was a very poor sailor, and the journey by sea around the Peloponnese was — and is — very disagreeable. — **actuariis**: (*navibus*), light yachts. — **impedimentis**: without the train becoming his station. — **currentem**: proverbial; to spur on him who runs, *i.e.* he was of the same opinion. The maxims here touched upon Cicero followed faithfully during his administration. — **extraordinarium**: because long after his consulship. — **Parthus**: after the defeat of Crassus, minor feuds with the Parthians had followed. Just now the Romans expected a strong invasion; see the letter to Cato, *Fam.* XV, 4, 3.

2. XX, DCCC: *sestertia vicena, octingena*, that is, 20,000, 800,000 sesterces, equivalent to about \$840, \$34,400 in our money. As Atticus was his banker, the figures refer most likely to some loans made by Cicero. — **unis**: used with *pluralia tantum*. — **ut annus**: in apposition to *illud*. Cicero was very anxious not to have his term of office prolonged. Even if it was not formally extended, the pontiffs, at their discretion, might add intercalary (leap year) days, and thus make the year longer; *cp.* below, *intercaletur*. — **Hortensium**: the orator, with whom he now was on intimate terms.

3. **Cicero**: his son. — **Dionysium**: a freedman of Atticus, tutor of the young Cicero and literary adviser to the orator.

LIV. C. Memmius, at one time a friend of Cicero, was at this time estranged from him and lived in exile in Athens. There he owned the house and garden which had once belonged to the philosopher Epicurus. He was contemplating tearing it down. Cicero, on behalf of the Epicureans, interceded with him in this very delicate subject, all the more difficult, because just then Memmius seems to have been out of sympathy with the Epicureans, though some years before the Epicurean Lucretius had dedicated to him his famous epic *De Rerum Natura*.

1. **iniuria**: his exile, which he ought to have escaped since he had turned state's evidence.

2. **Patrone**: Patro was at the head of the Epicurean school in Athens. Cicero was an eclectic, with leanings toward the school of Plato, the so-called Academy. — **voluit**: perhaps in a suit for unpaid tuition fees. — **mem**: a form surviving from early Latin (G. 100, N. 1), and therefore here colloquial. — **Phaedro**: an Epicurean, one of the men who had instructed Cicero in his youth. — **Philo**: of the Academy; he came to Rome in 88. — **tamen**: although I differed from him in philosophy.

3. **nescio quid**: to minimize the appreciation of Greek culture was one of the fashionable foibles of the age. — **idem**: the first one is masc., the second neut.

4. **offensiuncula**: the colloquial diminutive is used here on purpose to mark the feeling of Memmius as little founded. — **gentem**: the quarrelsomeness of the philosophers was proverbial; cp. Hor. *Sat.* II, 3. — **nisi tamen**: on the adversative force of *nisi* after negative sentences, and its colloquial character, cp. G. 591, 2, R. 2; N. 1. — **laborare**: subject of *concedi*. — **honorem**: the plea of Patro was based on personal grounds (*honorem*), his position as school head (*officium*), the express provision of Epicure's last will (*testamentorum ius, auctoritatem*), piety (toward Phaedrus), and the respect due to great men (*sedem . . . hominum*).

5. **non quo**: in reality Atticus was an Epicurean. — **possem**: G. 597, R. 5 (a). — **decretum**: a decree of the Areopagus had permitted Memmius to raze the house of Epicurus.

LV.

1. **Tralles**: Greek city on the west coast of Asia Minor. — **nec . . . nec**: continues the negative idea contained in *neminem*; G. 445. — **sentis**: the emphasis lies on this word; to the *et* corresponds *et* before *re vera*, below. — **scripserim**: *Fam.* III, 4, 2. — **ex alto repetita**: *far-fetched*. This cool rejection of Cicero's complimentary advances strikes the keynote of their official correspondence. Notice the skillful way in which Cicero dulls the edge of the slight. — **ratio**: administration.

2. **obscuris personis**: a doubtful construction. It has been explained as dative of reference with the passive (so-called dative of agent), but according to G. 354, N. 1, all such con-

structions of plurals with an adjective are doubtful. It may well be an ablative absolute. The metaphor is taken from the stage, as is *agetur*, "minor parts."

3. **visurusne**: a meeting between the outgoing and the incoming governor was customary. — **ut dicerem**: an *ut* clause explanatory of *eum*; *I happened to mention*. — **per**: adjectives are compounded with *per* in colloquial language to strengthen them. The "Tmesis" is archaic. — **maritimam**: Appius meant Sida, a small town in Pamphylia. — **L. Clodius**: Appius's *praefectus fabrum*. — **Laudiceae**: Latinized form of Laodicea. This town was in Phrygia, but at the time, as well as Apamea and Synnada of the same district, belonged to Cicero's province. This included, beside Cilicia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Isauria, Lycæonia, Cyprus. — **ad**: toward, *at the time of*.

4. **permutatione**: a treasury check; Cicero had a bill of exchange in Roman money (*sestertii*) which he changed for the coin of the country (*drachmae*). — **Iconium**: in Lycæonia. — **aberam**: epistolary tense. — **commodo**: manner.

5. **Scaevola**: legate of Appius. — **vellem**: potential of the past.

LVI.

1. **publicanorum**: the letter carriers of the tax farmers, who would take some of his letters along.

2. **perditam**: by the maladministration of his predecessor. With this description one must read the correspondence between Cicero and Appius, to understand how powerfully intrenched the Roman nobles were to attempt such frightful thefts. Only by realizing this can we understand why the monarchy, the curse of Rome, became the blessing of the provincials. — *ἐπικεφάλια*: a head tax on servants, on the house doors (cp. the English window tax), etc.; see also Mommsen, *R. H.* III, 396; Tyrrell, Appendix to Vol. III. — *ὠνάς*: *sheriff's sales*. The tax debts were handed over to a collector, *venditio tributorum*.

3. **lege Iulia**: a law *De Repetundis* promulgated by Caesar in 59, defined sharply what contributions the governor might levy for himself and his staff. It incorporated various previous laws and made additions to them; cp. Tyrrell, Appendix to Vol. III.

4. **Appius**, etc.: cp. the correspondence between the two, especially *Fam.* III, 6. — **forum**: he had legally no longer the

power to do so. Cicero complains about the same high-handed proceeding, *Att.* V, 17. — **Bibulus**: Caesar's colleague in 59, now incoming proconsul of Syria. — **tridui**: (*iter* sc.).

LVII.

1. **factum**: *behavior*. — **fidelitatem . . . locum**: Chiasmus. — **ut venirem**: perhaps to avoid the crowding together of too many infinitives. The construction, however, may have been influenced by Cicero's disposition to use in his letters constructions belonging to a past period of the language; cp. *G.* 532, R. 3. — **dignitatis**: because Sida was an insignificant town.

2. **prima**: the part of the province nearest Rome and civilization.

3. **ibi**: Laodicea. — **lege Cornelia**: a law of Sulla stated that the departing governor must leave the province within thirty days after the arrival of his successor. — **opinor**: a polite phrase.

4. **sed tamen**: *be that as it may, anyhow*; *G.* 485, N. 3. — **ignari**: nominative.

5. **vere**: *openly, frankly*. — **cohortes**: Appius did not inform him of their whereabouts. — **evocatorum**: the *evocati* were soldiers who had served their full time but were retained as the nucleus of a reserve in an emergency; cp. *B.G.* III, 20.

6. **habere rationem**: *calculate*. — **Cappadociam**: because he believed that this part of his province, being open toward Syria, needed military protection from the threatening invasion of the Parthians.

LVIII. About Caelius see *Fam.* VIII, 1, introductory note.

1. **dignitate**: see the address of the letter. — **locis**: the same complaint about the tardiness of the news also in *Fam.* II, 7. It throws a peculiar sidelight on the safety of the communications in the Roman Empire to read that even the letters of a proconsul were not free from the danger of highway robbery. — **ridere**: Caelius had rapidly acquired a reputation as a wit and *causeur*. — **scis**: Tyrrell with probability refers this to a certain Lucilius Hirrus, whose lisp was well known in Roman society.

2. **non edepol**: iambic tetrameter, of an unknown author. — **incredibile**: the first words of a trochaic catalectic tetrameter from Statius. — **incessi**: cp. *De Fin.* II, 13: *omnibus laetitiis laetus incedo*; from Statius. — **ego**: from a trochaic catalectic tetrameter of the comic poet Trabea. — **ille**: see above, *scis*.

LIX. For the contents compare Cicero's letter to Cato, *Fam.* XV, 4.

1. **hillo** = *illo*; cp. the well-known epigram of Catullus, 84. The details of these allusions are obscure. — **comitia**: at which they had been elected.

2. **laureolam**: the laurel wreath of the victorious emperor. The diminutive is meant to express modesty. — **urbem**: (*servavit* sc.). — **senatus**: (*patrem patriae appellavit* sc.). — **Bibulo**: proconsul of Syria; the Amanus forms the boundary between the two provinces. — **Cassius**: C. C. Longinus, the murderer of Caesar, was at this time as quaestor of the late Crassus in command of the Syrian troops.

3. **Clitarchus**: accompanied Alexander the Great during his campaigns and wrote his history. The battle of Issus was fought 332. — **desit**: the sequence is logical rather than grammatical, since *oppugnabam* is epistolary tense. — **nomen**: the town was as good as his.

4. **spissius**: because the question of his succession was complicated by the difficulties between Pompey and Caesar.

LX. A model of a congratulatory letter from an older man to a younger friend. For the relations between Cicero and Curio see *Fam.* II, 1, introductory note.

1. **neglegentia**: ablative. — **defendes**: to carry out; cp. *partes defendere*, to take a part.

2. **quod**: interrogative adjective. — **incideris . . . veneris**: *incideris*, by chance, *veneris*, by reasoned action; that the conditions were rapidly passing on toward a conflict every observer was by now able to tell. The entering upon the tribunate on Curio's part was therefore a momentous political step. — **amabo te**: an interjection = *if you please*. — **tametsi**: in Cicero's time a word belonging to familiar speech; G. 604, R. 2. — **hoc**: (*consilium* sc.).

3. **domesticos**: his own, in contrast to those of his friends or others. — **gessimus**: here of his military exploits. — **sacerdotio**: Curio, although below legal age, was a candidate for the place in the Collegium Pontificum which had been vacated by his father's death. — **re atque causa**: *res*, the whole matter (election of a pontiff), *causa*, a special point (Curio's candidacy).

4. **prorogari**: his old haunting fear that his administration

would be extended. Curio, as tribune, would have the *ius intercedendi*. — **sectatore**: the somewhat slighting expression is mitigated by *quasi*; on the relations between Cicero and Curio see *Fam.* II, 1, introductory note. — **senati consultum**: this gave the governor the civil administration, while a special *lex curiata* gave him the military *imperium*.

LXI. The letter recounts the campaign against Pindenissus and Cicero's administrative reforms. See also *Fam.* XV, 4; XV, 2.

1. **Saturnalibus**: December 17–19. — **malum**: *the devil!* a colloquial exclamation, frequent in comedy. — **Aetoliam, Macedoniam**: jocular reference to Fulvius Nobilior, the victor of 189, and to Aemilius Paulus, the victor of 168. — ἐν ἐπιτομῇ: *briefly*. — **Ephesum**: of the enthusiastic reception there Cicero was very proud. — **ut**: interrogative.

2. **lustrari**: which was always necessary before the army took the field under a new commander. — **Artavasdes**: king of Armenia, son of the Tigranes of the speech *De L. Man.*

3. **Tauri pylas**: cp. the description in Xen. *Anab.* I, 4, 4. — **imperatores**: the soldiers used to acclaim their victorious general by this name. — **Issum**: 332 B.C. — πανικά: “panic terror,” of idle fright. — τὰ κενὰ τ. π.: “the vain rumors of war.” — **Cassio**: see to *Fam.* II, 10, 2.

4. **Bibulus**: see to *Fam.* II, 10, 2. — **appellatione**: the title *imperator*. — **loreolam in mustaceo**: *to hunt for a laurel leaf in a wedding cake*. These cakes were baked with plenty of bay leaves, so that it was an easy matter to find them there. Cicero means that Bibulus was seeking “cheap laurels.” For *laureola* = the laurel wreath of the *imperator* see to *Fam.* II, 10, 2. — **primi pili**: the senior centurion of a legion. — **sui generis**: the point is somewhat obscure; the Asinii were a plebeian *gens*; the best-known member is A. Pollio, the friend of Caesar and Augustus. As the position of centurion is at the best subaltern, it would seem as if Cicero wishes to pun on Asinius . . . *asinus*. In this case *sui* must be referred to the subject *ille* = *Bibulus*. — **re, tempore**: specification.

5. **omnium**: with *memoria*. — **mancipiis**: these were sold for the benefit of the treasury.

6. **Ligurino μῶμος**: the censure of P. Aelius Ligus, one of his bitterest enemies. — **moriar**: colloquial oath. — **continentiam**:

according to the Stoics self-restraint was always commingled with unpleasant feelings, and was not a virtue unless so felt. Cicero means that his self-restraint gives him enjoyment and therefore has ceased to be a virtue. — *πεφύσσημαι*: *I am inflated*; alluding to the fable of the frog and the bull. — *λαμπρά* = *clara*. — **Ariobarzanes**: king of Cappadocia, grandson of the Ariobarzanes mentioned in the speech *De L. Man.* For the details see to *Fam.* XV, 4, 6. — *ἐν παρόδῳ*: = *in transitu*. — **insidiatoribus**: see *Fam.* XV, 4, 6. — *ἀπρόσιτον*: *inaccessible*; *ἀδωροδόκητον*: *not open to bribes*. — **pilum**: proverbial; no news. — **Brutum**: the well-known murderer of Caesar. He had lent money to Ariobarzanes and was discouraged at the prospect of losing it.

7. **Kalendis**: when the matter of the allotment of the provinces was to come up. If Caesar was unwilling to let go, Pompey would stay in Rome, and Cicero's term of office might be extended. Otherwise Pompey would likely start for the East to make war on the Parthians and thus relieve Cicero.

8. **Caesare**: the question of a successor to Caesar, whose *imperium* really lasted to 49. He had at the time of the writing assumed a conciliatory tone. — **salvi**: with a double meaning; the state is safe, and I can go home. — **Plaetoriano**: Plaetorius had been condemned on a charge *repetundarum*. His accomplice Seius had to pay part of the refund. — **Q. Cassio**: he had been Pompey's quaestor in Spain, and was now an ardent supporter of Caesar.

9. **Quinto**: the son of his brother and of Atticus's sister Pomponia. He was accordingly about sixteen years old. — **puram**: = *virilis*, because of its pure white. — **Deiotarus**: tetrarch of Galatia, whom he later on defended before Caesar. — **Ciceronibus**: the two boys had spent the summer and fall at his court. — **Epiroticas**: from the Amaltheum. — **Nicanor**: slave of Atticus. — **Alexis**: freedman and secretary of Atticus. — **meus**: Tiro, called so in jest. — **Phemius**: a slave musician; Cicero jests about the dearth of the implements of civilization, here a cornet. — **Romam**: (*proficisci* sc.).

LXII. In this letter Cicero reports his military exploits to M. Porcius Cato (Uticensis), in order to win his support in the Senate to obtain the decree of a *Supplicatio*. See *Fam.* XV, 1, 2; II, 10; *Att.* V, 20.

1. **aequitate**: as the military exploits were not very important, Cicero bases his appeal on reasons which were likely to appeal better to the Stoic. — **tuerer . . . administrarem**: chiasmus.

2. **conventus**: the assizes, *i.e.* the court proceedings before the governor who traveled about through the province like the Federal Circuit judges. The cities mentioned were the "assize towns" of the province. — **tributis**: these were the usual forms of Roman oppression; taxes for communal purposes, usurious interest, up to 40 per cent, forged or unjust claims for loans. — **seditione**: of five cohorts. The mutiny had broken out on account of nonpayment of wages, but had been temporarily quelled by Cicero's predecessor.

3. **evocatorum**: cp. *Fam.* III, 26, 5. — **lustrato**: cp. *Att.* V, 20, 2. — **rege Commageno**: Antiochus I (98–38), whose splendid monument has recently been discovered on the Nimrud-Dagh. During the Mithridatic war he had been an enemy of Rome, but was now a stanch friend. — **Parthos**: who since the battle of Carrhae had been constantly threatening.

4. **demissem**: to the sea coast. — **aditus**: Xen. *Anab.* I, 4, 4. — **nova**: *rebellious*; cp. *novis rebus studere*.

5. **Deiotarus**: see to *Att.* V, 20, 9. By a decree of the Senate he had received the title of *amicus populi Romani*.

6. **Ariobarzanem**: see to *Att.* V, 20, 6. Many Roman nobles, among them Pompey and Brutus, were his creditors, wherefore they were anxious to have him protected. — **Metra**: Athenais, the king's mother, had caused the banishment of Metra and Athenaeus, who were the tools of the Roman financiers. — **sacerdos**: of the goddess Ma (Bellona); cp. *De L. Man.* 23. His name was Archelaus. — **aulae**: properly the court of a house; then the reception court of a palace; finally equivalent to royal power.

7. **occidione occisum**: *Figura Etymologia*, by which words of related origin are brought into close relation.

8. **utrique provinciae**: Syria, the province of Bibulus, as well as his own Cappadocia. — **Q.**: he had seen military service under Caesar in Gaul, *B.G.* V.

9. **repugnantibus**: participle in ablative absolute with the subject (*hostibus*) understood. — **Aras**: altars set up by Alex-

ander to commemorate the victory of Issus. — **reliquiis**: ep. Verg. *Aen.* I, 30.

10. **scelere**: their guilt, like that of the Pindenissitae, consisted in their independence.

11. **honorem**: the *supplicatio*. — **a me**: the ablative of agent instead of the usual dative to achieve the similarity in sound with *te*, and thus give prominence to their personal relations. — **ornasti**: in connection with the conspiracy of Catiline. — **cuidam**: said to be Lentulus Spinther, who had advocated Cicero's recall. — **tu idem**: in 63. — **gesta . . . conservata**: ep. *Cat.* III, 15.

12. **invidiam**: his quarrels with Clodius, his exile, and the troubles in effecting the recall. — **varietate litterarum**: *my divers literary works*.

13. **a senatu**: the prepositional phrase to avoid the ambiguous genitive. — **necessitudine**: no kinship is meant to be implied. — **ratione, doctrina**: *ratio* = *the way of studying*; *doctrina* = *the result; course of study, scientific culture* (Tyrrell). — **provinciam**, etc.: he had resigned the rich province of Macedonia as a bribe to keep his colleague from Catiline, and had also resigned the alternative of governing Gaul. The prospect of a triumph from either of these provinces was reasonably certain. — **sacerdotium**: the office of *augur*. — **iniuriam**: his exile. — **intercedere**: instead of *ut* clause; G. 546, N. 3. For the whole statement, and a contradictory assertion, see *Arch.* 26.

14. **aequitatem**: harking back to § 1. — **imperii**: objective. In § 16 we have the more usual construction with *erga*.

15. **clientelae**: Cyprus had been made a Roman province by Cato, who thereby became its *patronus*. Cappadocia is perhaps added on account of its relations to Brutus, the nephew of Cato. Both districts were parts of the province of Cilicia.

16. **deduximus**: ep. the similar judgment about the application of literary studies to the practice of life in the *Arch.* 12. It is thoroughly characteristic of the Roman vein in Cicero. — **litteris**: the official report to the Senate.

LXIII. A short note introducing M. Fadius Gallus (see *Fam.* VII, 23) to M. Caelius Rufus.

1. **novi**: one of the jokes with which the Caelius letters abound. Such a great lawyer as you will take nothing less than a murder case.

LXIV. The controversy between Cicero and his predecessor had by now become somewhat heated. Hence the short abrupt beginning.

1. **pueri**: slaves. Cicero stayed in Laodicea from February 11 to March 1.

2. **legati**: ambassadors from the little town Appia in Phrygia. By order of Appius a monument was here to be built commemorating his "good government," the expense, of course, to be borne by the townspeople. Upon complaint Cicero had issued an injunction against continuing the work until further investigation. Appius very naturally took this amiss. — **impedissem**: subjunctive in informal *O. O.* — **liberarem**: by dissolving the injunction. — **tributa**: to defray the cost of building.

3. **ad omnia**: as a complete reply. — **aequitatem**: sarcastic. — **post brumam**: the delay was evidently intentional. — **me tamen**: although Appius, the brother of Clodius, was not on good terms with Cicero, the latter could not afford to offend a man who enjoyed the intimate friendship of Pompey.

4. **accenso**: a clerk. — **cum diceret**: as if he had overheard a casual remark, not *dicentem*, hearing it directly from Pausanias. Cicero probably wishes to shield Pausanias, who might likely be injured by the enmity of the powerful Appius. The tactful and considerate treatment of his subordinates forms one of the most lovable traits in Cicero's character. — **cum puer**, etc.: ep. *Fam.* III, 6, 6. Appius had evidently done his level best to avoid any chance of meeting Cicero. — **prodirem**: G. 466.

5. **Lentulo**: Lentulus Spinther, the predecessor of Appius. — **Ampio**: he had been proconsul of Asia, but may have had authority in a few Cilician towns. — **rerum usu**: practical experience. — **urbanitatem**: as object of *addo*, though one would expect the ablative. — **Appietatem, Lentulitatem**: ironical formations; style of —, dignity of —, to correspond to *urbanitatem*; ep. our *to outhrod Herod.* — *εὐγένεια*: noble birth; nobilitas, "noble character." — **Athenodorus**: from Kana near Tarsos, philosopher and teacher of Augustus.

6. *πάρ' ἑμοιγε*: Hom. *Il.* I, 174, addressed by Agamemnon to Achilles. "I have others with me who will honor me, and especially counsellor Zeus." — *φιλαίτιος*: quarrelsome.

LXV. On his return to the city Appius found himself con-

fronted with two charges, *maiestatis* and *ambitus*. Unfavorable reports from Cilicia would now have been very dangerous. This is the reason for the sudden change in the tone of the correspondence.

1. **legatis**: these must not be confused with the *legati Appiani* of *Fam.* III, 7, 2, who are referred to in *Appianorum aedificatione* just below. On the withdrawal of a governor it was the custom for the provincials to send embassies to Rome to praise the administration just past. The worse it had been, the more the governor was anxious to have such embassies sent, and they were not always entirely voluntary. Cicero had evidently interfered with similar proceedings in the case of Appius.

2. **triumphi**: he gave up this hope on account of the charges. — *ἐπικούρειον*: *i.e.* selfish, utilitarian. — **velis**: subjunctive of Informal *O. O.* — **Longi subselli**: a nickname given by Pompey to the "Circumlocution Office" methods of the Senate.

3. **promissi ac muneris**: hendiadys. — **iuris augurii**: Appius was writing a book on the augural law, of which the first part, dedicated to Cicero, had appeared. Cicero urges the completion of the work, and promises to return the compliment by inscribing some treatise of his to Appius.

4. **polliceris**: in § 1. — **litteras**: his official report. — **discessum**: recess, generally in April. — **aestivis**: the summer campaign.

LXVI.

1. **putaresne**: potential of the past. — **nostratia**: colloquial Latin, in contrast to the choice of elevated words in public speaking. — **accessio**: (*famae* sc.). — **possim**: the incongruity of number with *nostris* adds to the lightness of the rapid style. — **effugere**: with pregnant meaning; *run away from*.

2. **pantheris**: Caelius had asked to have some wild animals caught with which to embellish his games, which as aedile he was bound to give. Cicero was opposed on principle to burdening the provincials with such unwarranted charges, but as he could not very well directly refuse, he resorted to a jocular reply, tinged, in his own inimitable manner, with some self-glorification, and made the more laughable because he was employing the style of the Chancellery. — **Megalensibus**: the festival of the Magna Mater, April 4–10, when curule games would be celebrated in Rome.

LXVII. The wished for *Supplicatio* had been granted to Cicero. Cato had voted against it. In this letter he defends his action.

1. **quod**: the double accusative is archaic and colloquial; G. 341, N. 2. — **ut**: appositive to *quod*. — **togati, armati**: appositives to a genitive *tui* (from *tu*) to be taken from *tuam*; notice the chiasmus. — **pro**: in proportion to, as far as my judgment would allow. — **defensam, servatum, revocatam**: corresponding to the points made by Cicero in his letter (XV, 4). Notice the chiasmic arrangement. — **decreto**: his vote.

2. **ratione et continentia**: corresponding to the *aequitas* and *continentia* claimed by Cicero. — **referre acceptum**: a business term; to set down on the credit side of the ledger. — **praerogativam**: an option, a sure indication. Cato saw through the phrases of Cicero's verbiage, although he had been careful to avoid the direct mention of either supplication or triumph. — **mea sententia**: *I urged this in my vote*. The chief senators always justified their vote by an argumentative speech. The compliments here veil Cato's refusal to support Cicero's claim to a triumph.

3. **pluribus**: Cato affected the sententious brevity of his great ancestor, the Censor. Compare the briefness of this note with the long letter to which it is an answer. — **itinere**: metaphor.

LXVIII.

1. **Quinquatrus**: March 19–23. Curio, now in Caesar's pay, had been causing riots during these days. — **audeo**: the complaint about the insecurity of letters from the prying of spies occurs frequently in Cicero's letters. — **annuum munus**: my work of one year, his administration.

2. **Diogenes**: a friend; **Philo**: a slave or freedman of Caelius. — **Pessinuntem**: town at the borders of Galatia and Phrygia, famed for its Cybele temple. — **Adiatorix**: the Gallic form of the name shows the man to be a descendant of the Galati or Celts who had settled in Asia Minor. He was the son of one of the Galatian princelings. The two men went to become his tutors. — **urbem**: the anaphora, as well as the familiar *mi Rufe*, show how heartfelt this sigh of Cicero's is. — **ambulatiuncula**: the diminutive, to strengthen the contrast; *one short little walk*.

LXIX. The letter replies to *Fam.* XV, 5, Cato's note in answer to *Fam.* XV, 4.

1. **Laetus**: trochaic catalectic tetrameter from the *Hector Proficiscens*; see to *Fam.* VII, 12, 7. — **opinor**: assumed ignorance of lighter literature, as unworthy of the attention of a statesman. — **ego vero**: compare with this passage his true feelings as expressed in a letter to Atticus (VII, 2, 7): *in me turpiter fuit malevolus. Dedit quod non quaerebam; quod postulabam, id negavit.* — **dares**: potential of the past; you might have granted. The words betray the writer's bitterness. — **non modo**: *I won't say.* — **currum, lauream**: although Cicero in his letter to Cato had studiously avoided to mention the kind of honor which he desired, he plainly betrays here his ambition to achieve a triumph, during which the Emperor rode in a chariot, his head wreathed in laurels. — **illud**: not *istud*, "yours," but "that well known, perfect." — **laudabilius**: with active meaning; laudatory.

2. **scripsisse**: in his letter. But *scribendo* and *scribi*, below, refer to the drafting of the wording of the decree. — **re p. meliore**: the first, half suppressed, hint of the troubles between Caesar and Pompey which were soon to become acute.

LXX. A letter thanking his friend for working for Cicero's claims to a triumph or *supplicatio*.

1. **Curio**: he was tribune during this year. — **competitor**: Hirrus, who competed with Cicero for the augurship, with Caelius for the office of aedile. — **ornavit**: Cato. — **sequuntur**: the triumph.

2. **Dolabellam**: P. Cornelius Dolabella. During Cicero's absence in Cilicia he had become the third husband of Tullia, Cicero's daughter. He was a profligate and spendthrift, and the fond father naturally was full of anxiety for his daughter's happiness. — **Appium**: Dolabella at the time was prosecuting Appius Claudius, the predecessor of Cicero in the governorship, and Cicero evidently had employed his good offices with his son-in-law.

3. **faveo**, etc.: these words are very significant and throw a flood of light on Cicero's attitude during the Civil War. Vacillating as they may appear, there can be no doubt that his decisions were dictated by his warm feelings of friendship and gratitude, but that he was willing to set all these considerations aside for the welfare of the state. — **amicus**: to Caesar.

4. **Coelium**: C.C. Calvus, quaestor 50, had been assigned to Cilicia. — **neque erat**: nobody of higher official position. — **alterum me**: *my other self*. — **voluisse**: the decree under which Cicero had been appointed provided that the governors should be taken from among those who had not been in charge of a province. — **potentissimorum**: Caesar and Pompey. They had taken Cassius and Antony as *legati*, not by lot, which was the usual proceeding, but of their own selection. Caelius had been given to Cicero by the lot.

5. **Ocella**: Caelius had mentioned that he was accused of adultery. Cicero wants the details of the affair. — **Matrinio**: unintelligible allusion.

LXXI. The letter reveals the perplexity in which the political situation placed Cicero, not without a hint, however, of his real preference.

1. **Saufeio**: a friend of both Cicero and Atticus, and, like the latter, an Epicurean. — **ambulant**: namely slowly, with many halts. — **scis**: he proceeds to give a résumé of the letter (VI, 9). — **Acasto**: a slave. — **legionibus**: referring to a rumor that Caesar was going to send four legions to Placentia in Cisalpine Gaul. — *φιλοτιμία*: a veiled allusion to Philotimus, freedman and steward of his wife Terentia. Cicero had begun to suspect him of dishonesty. — **Xenone**: an Athenian Epicurean, friend of both men.

2. **idem deus**: a mere phrase in Cicero's mouth. — **age**: merely a formula of transition. — *πρόβλημα*: *question*. — **te auctore**: Atticus had always advised Cicero to keep on good terms with both bosses. — *ἀλλ'*: Hom. *Od.* IX, 33. *You never yet persuaded my heart in my breast*. — **meritus**: Pompey. — **valebatur**: Caesar.

3. **alter**: Caesar. — **ea**: his allegiance to the Senate.

4. **cum altero**: Pompey. Even so early Cicero had no illusions as to the outcome of a war. — **ne ratio, ut exercitum**: the two points at issue, viz. that Caesar should not be a candidate for the consulship while he was in Gaul, and that he should discharge his army. — **dic**: notice the dramatic element. Cicero takes us, so to say, right into a Senate meeting at the point when he is asked to declare himself. — **amabo te**: *if you please*, as often. — **densae dextrae**: *frequent pledges*. The words seem to be a

quotation. — **ut**: object clause with *adiuvi*. — **Ravennae**: at a meeting in 52 Caesar had asked Cicero to induce Caelius to make a motion that he might be allowed to stand for the consulship while absent. — **tertio**: 52, when Pompey was for a time consul *sine collega*. *Divino* thus is ironical. — **aliter sensero**: a veiled protasis; *suppose I . . .* — *αἰδέομαι*: Hom. *Il.* VI, 442. *I am ashamed of men and women in Troy*. — *Πουλυδάμας*: Hom. *Il.* XXII, 100. *Polydamas will be the first to blame me*, referring to Atticus.

5. Marcellorum: 51, M. Claudius Marcellus; 50, C. Claudius Marcellus. Another Marcellus had been elected consul for 49. Cicero would not reach Rome before the end of 50. — **itaque**: some proper name must have fallen out in this place. — **ut**: concessive. The meaning seems to be: "as it is allowed a fool always to bring up his own business, I shall bring up that of my triumph, which will give me a chance to stay away from the decisive meetings." — **extra urbem**: because he could not retain his *imperium* and enter Rome. — **ridebis**: because Cicero had always been so loath to stay in Cilicia. — *ὁδοῦ πάρεργον*: *by the way*. — *ἐπίτηκτα*: *plated, a gold brick*. He refers to his utterances about the pleasure derived from his virtuousness, *Att.* V, 20, 6.

6. Caelio: whom he had left behind as governor *ad interim*. — **cohors**: the official name for the suite of a governor. — **ut**: exclamatory indirect question; G. 558. — *ἐκβολή*: *digression*; *Thuc.* I, 97.

7. εὐπόριστον: *easily attainable*. — **supplicatione**: which had been granted to him and which he considered an earnest of the triumph. — **non decrevit**: Cato. — **Favonius, Hirrus**: both had opposed the motion; cp. *Fam.* VIII, 11, 2; *Hirrus Catoni adsensus est; ad hos Favonius accessit*. — **adfuit**: was on the committee on the wording; cp. *Fam.* XV, 6. — **litteras**: *Fam.* XV, 5.

8. impedire, etc.: cp. *Fam.* VIII, 11, *cum posset rem impedire, tacuit*. — **Crassipedem**: the former husband of Tullia.

9. illo: Philotimus; cp. § 1. — *φυρατής*: literally *mixer*, then *cheat*. Cp. *Att.* VI, 9. — **Lartidius**: an obscure allusion. It seems unlikely that he is referring to Ulixes, the son of Laertes, the type of craftiness. — *ἀλλά*: Hom. *Il.* XVIII, 112. *We will*

let bygones be bygones, even though we are angry. — **Precianum**: a legacy to Cicero from a certain Precius. He wants the accounts for this kept separate from Terentia's. — **redacturum**: *transfer*, a business term. — ἀμεμπτα: *inoffensive*.

LXXII.

1. **valetis**: a variation of the stereotyped formula, which by the omission of *bene est* gives to it a more intimate and personal character. — **Cicero**: the son. — **Acastus**: a slave. — **uno**: an interesting sidelight on the rate of traveling in antiquity. — **sive**: on this use of the word see G. 496, N. 1. — **rem publicam**: Cicero foresaw the Civil War, and often during this year voiced his anxiety. His hesitancy here places him in rather an unfavorable light (cp. *dissimulare non liceat*, below), but he atoned for this later on. — **citius**: with **veniamus**. — **fiat**: restrictive.

2. **Preciana**: see to *Att.* VII, 1, 9. — **sed**: marks the end of the digression; G. 485. — **auctio**: a public sale of an estate in parts, much used in disposing of legacies. A sale *in toto* would be called *bonorum venditio*. — **Pomponius**: Atticus. — **Camillus**: C. Furius Camillus, a friend of Cicero, both business man and lawyer. — **per nos**: instead of through Philotimus, Terentia's steward; cp. to *Att.* VII, 1, 1 and 9. — **si dii**: cp. *Att.* VII, 1, 2. — **vos**: including Tullia.

LXXIII. Tiro had been a slave of Cicero, who had him educated. He gained his master's fullest confidence, and became his trusted secretary, on whose disinterested judgment Cicero came to rely more and more. In 53 he had been manumitted (*Fam.* XVI, 16). He had accompanied Cicero to Cilicia, but being of delicate health, he fell seriously ill during the return journey. It is to this illness that we owe the following letters which reveal to us the orator in one of his finest traits, the love and consideration for his confidants, no matter how humble their station in life. Tiro had been left behind at Patras in Greece, in the house of a certain Lyson.

1. **honorem**: so that he might press his claims to a triumph. — **discesserim**: causal relative clause. — **muto**: (*approbationem* sc.). — **cibum**: an interesting sidelight on ancient medicine, which cured illness largely by fasting or a very spare diet. Tiro had stomach trouble (*Fam.* XVI, 4). — **Marionem**: a slave.

2. **navigas**: instead of the regular future or future perfect; ante-classical, G. 595, N. 2. — **Leucade**: a peninsula in the Ionian Sea, where Cicero stopped for a short while. — **videbis**: future in an imperative sense, from familiar language; G. 243.

3. **ut amemus**: restrictive; G. 552, R. 3.

LXXIV.

1. **pagina**: the first interior side of the double tablet. — **valeas**: subjunctive by attraction. — **medico**: his name was Asclapo. — **existimari**: impersonal. — **probo**: in very modern fashion Cicero criticises the treatment of the country practitioner. — **ius**: *soup*. — *κακοστόμαχος*: of a weak stomach. — **Lyso**: his host at Patras.

2. **Curium**: M'. C., a Roman knight, banker in Patras. — **sumptu**: dative form, which in masculines and feminines is rare in classical prose; G. 61, N. 2. — **quod**: probably *Constructio ad Sensum*, instead of the feminine. — **daret**: subjunctive, because the letter contained an order. — **medico**: he was evidently a slave, whom a "tip" would spur to greater attention.

3. **Mescinio**: he had been Cicero's quaestor. Cicero's dislike for the man is shown in the cool reference *non inhumanus*. — **sic habeto** = *hoc scito*. — **loco**: not "place." — **fieri**: as passive of *facio*. — **Lepta**: Cicero's *praefectus fabrum*.

LXXV. In the superscription "Tullius" is the orator, "Cicero" his son, the "Quinti" his brother and his nephew. Notice the *humanissimo et optimo*, unusual forms of endearment, showing the intimacy between Tiro and his master.

1. **Thyrei**: a city in Acarnania, where Cicero had stopped before coming to Leucas. — **essent**: the sequence has taken precedence over the sense; translate by present. — **meliuscule**: the diminutive from a comparative is not frequent, but occasionally found in the letters.

2. **ut**: object clause after *facies*, the infinitive of which is to be understood after *poteris*. — **Acastus**: see to *Fam.* XIV,

5. He had been left behind to look after Tiro. He was to go down to the Marina every day to look for ships which might take a letter along. — **recte**: *safely*. — **cetera**: the question of expense.

LXXVI. Written on the same day as XVI, 4 and 5. The number of letters reveals Cicero's real anxiety.

1. *tertiam*: notice the emphatic position; "this is the third." — *instituti*: cp. XVI, 5, *ego neminem praetermittam*. — *quam quo*: instead of *non quo*, which is used when a reason is given only to be abandoned. — *illa*: not *haec*, although looking toward what follows, because he repeats only the sentiments of his preceding letters.

2. *nec cures*: not directly dependent on *nihil est*, but instead of *nec est quicquam quod cures*.

LXXVII.

1. *Cassiopen*: a town in the northern part of the island. — *stadia*: a Greek measure, about 580 feet. It is interesting to note the position which at the time Greek expressions held in navigating, comparable to the English in our own times.

2. *cenati*: temporal circumstantial participle. As this was the end of November, they sailed about 4 P.M. The passage is of interest as showing the speed of the average vessel of the age. — *Hydruntem*: Otranto.

3. *ita velim . . . ut*: a clause of stipulation. — *symphoniam*: a "musicale" to which Tiro had been invited. — *hebdomada*: in ancient medicine the seventh day in an illness was considered critical (cp. the popular modern view of pneumonia and typhoid). Tiro's illness had already lasted over three weeks. — *pudori*: *courtesy*. He feared to offend his host Lyson by not attending. — *misi* = *scripsi*; a colloquialism of letter style. Do not understand *pecuniam*, as Cicero says that he is going to pay Curius's correspondents in Italy. — *honos*: recognition, in money. — *curaturum*: (*pecuniam solvendam* sc.). — *equum et mulum*: Cicero's love and consideration for Tiro shows itself touchingly in this care for details. — *K. Ian.*: because then the question of Caesar's successor in Gaul would become acute. The new consuls were ardent enemies of Caesar. — *modice*: he would observe neutrality.

4. *honesto*: of high rank. — *steteris*: a legal term.

LXXVIII. The letter is dated *ad urbem*, because Cicero desired a triumph which he could only celebrate while he was *cum imperio*. By entering the city he would have resigned the *imperium*.

1. **quartanam**: seemingly a malarial fever, recurring every fourth day, which was more easily curable than the stomach trouble. — **ex desiderio**: G. 397, N. 1.

2. **belli**: January 6, two days after his arrival, the tribunes had fled from Rome. — **mederi**: by acting as mediator between Caesar and Pompey, both his friends. — **certorum**: he knows their names, but does not care to mention them. — **omnino**: here introduces a concession, like our "indeed." — **litteras**: they had been read to the Senate January 1. Caesar offered to resign his provinces, if Pompey would do the same, otherwise, he threatened, he would come with an armed force. — **erat**: epistolary tense. — **Curio**: see introductory note to *Fam.* II, 1. — **Antonius**: the later triumvir, Q. Cassius Longinus, tribunes. The statement is at variance with Caesar, *B.C.* I, 5, as well as with Cicero, *Phil.* II, 21. This was January 7.

3. **improbi**: Cicero's favorite name for the *populares*. — **parte**: betraying his leaning toward Pompey. — **senatus**: viz. friends of Cicero. — **maius**: the times, Lentulus said, were unfavorable for the splendid spectacle. — **regiones**: for purposes of defense Italy was divided into military departments, like the United States. — **Capuam**: the central town of Campania.

LXXIX. Cicero was now on the way to Southern Italy in the interests of the republicans.

1. **loco**: on one of the estates of the family. — **Dolabellam**: his son-in-law, a partizan of Caesar. — **bonos**: the Pompeians. — **mulieres**: "women folks," not merely the wives. — **regio**: Capua. — **nostrorum**: the towns either by *hospitium* or because they were in his prefecture, the estates as his property.

2. **isto loco**: of your rank. — **propugnacula**, etc.: barricades and a guard of slaves against plunderers and marauders. — **Philotimo**: the steward.

LXXX. Notice the very affectionate superscription.

1. **ille**: Caesar. — **daturus**: (*militibus* sc.). — **similes**: wives of Pompeians. — **ut**: because *videndum* = *timendum*. — **fames**: because Pompey would likely control the sea and stop the grain imports.

2. **Pomponio, Camillo**: see to *Fam.* XIV, 5. — **Labienus**: T. L., Caesar's favorite legate in Gaul, who had joined Pompey and thereby made his *rem meliorem*. — **Piso**: L. Calpurnius P.

Caesoninus, Caesar's father-in-law. Notice how coolly Cicero treats this important man; they were enemies. — **Quintus**: his brother and nephew. — **Rufus**: perhaps Mescinius Rufus, his quaestor in Cilicia.

LXXXI. The letter sums up the political situation.

2. pertinere: subjunctive, because expressing intention. — **boni**: Cicero often remarks on the savage temper of the partisans of Pompey. — **Ariminum**: January 13; Pisaurum, Ancona; shortly afterwards; Arretium; Antony was sent to occupy this town. On the whole passage cp. *B.C.* I, 8 and 11.

3. illo: Caesar. — **Hispaniam**: his province which he had never visited. — **Domitio**, **Considio**: both were Pompeians. — **absente se**: Caesar had originally wanted to be elected consul while in Gaul. His moderation is noticeable even in this somewhat distorted presentation of the facts. — **suam**: instead of *sui*; G. 304, n. 2. — **trinum nundinum**: the bills for an Assembly had to be publicly posted on three consecutive market days. *trinum nundinum* would be seventeen days. — **accepimus**: not quite true; cp. *B.C.* I, 9, 10. — **ut**: stipulative. — **ut possit**: result clause.

4. condicionibus: ablative of means; G. 401, n. 6. — **intercludamus**: optative. — **sperabamus**: Cicero returns to the epistolary tense. — **inimicissimas**: on account of the recent insurrection (*B.G.* VII). — **Transpadanos**: to whom he had promised citizenship. — **Afranio**, **Petreio**: the two legati of Pompey with whom Caesar had to fight this very year; *B.C.* II. — **ut**: particle of wish.

5. a Formiis: Cicero had resigned the prefecture of Campania, but at the request of Pompey had consented to keep general supervision of the seashore. For the use of the preposition, see G. 391, R. 1. — **Dolabella**: see to *Fam.* XIV, 14, 1.

6. recepit: (*in se se.*); he took it upon himself.

LXXXII. This letter of Pompey's is a copy, sent by Cicero as an inclosure to his friend Atticus, and serves admirably to show the confusion in the Pompeian party. The situation is as follows: While Pompey was in Luceria Apuliae, on his way to Brundisium, a strong force of his supporters was opposing Caesar at Corfinium in Samnium. Deserted by their commander-in-chief, they finally surrendered to Caesar, who treated

them with great kindness, and for the most part joined his forces. The letter here given was the one which shattered Domitius's hopes of relief. Cp. *B.C.* I, 19 f. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was an ardent Pompeian.

1. *ut*: explanatory. — *implicit*: technical term, *envelop*. Its contrast is *explicare* (§ 2), to extricate one's self. — *legionibus*: these had been with Caesar in Gaul, but had been detached from him by an order of the Senate, requiring them for a pretended Parthian War. — *consulibus*: dative.

2. *hoc* = *huc*; G. 110.

LXXXIII. A résumé of the perplexities to which Cicero saw himself exposed in reaching a decision as to which party he should support.

1. *omnis*: the sum total.

2. *maneo, desero*: instead of the future perfect; G. 595, N. 2. — *provisum*: he had had much pleasant correspondence with Caesar during the Gallic campaigns, and his brother Quintus had been Caesar's *legatus*. — *dedecore*: the disgrace would consist in his having deserted Pompey from mercenary motives. — *periculum*: throughout the first part of the war, Cicero rightly feared the consequences of Pompey's unbridled pride and of the excesses of his followers, if they should be victorious.

3. *vetera*: the first Triumvirate and its renewal at Lucca in 55. — *istum*: Caesar. — *ille*: Pompey. — *auspicia*: referring to the many proclamations of Bibulus in 59 declaring Caesar's bills illegal for religious reasons. — *Galliae*: Pompey had supported the illegal assignment of Gaul to Caesar for five years. — *gener*: Pompey had married the daughter of Caesar. — *augur*: as such Pompey had supported the transfer of Cicero to the plebs. — *restituendi*: Cicero had often accused Pompey of having compassed his exile from motives of jealousy. — *propagator*: he had consented to the renewal of the command for another five years. — *tertio*: 52. — *M. Marcello*: consul 51. He had repeatedly moved to have the two Gauls taken from Caesar before March 1, 49.

4. *parati*: partitive genitive, stronger than *paratum*. — *Picenus*: *B.C.* I, 13, 15. — *pecunia*: *B.C.* I, 14. — *causa*: *policy*. — *defensam*: not *defendere*, because including non-active par-

icipation. — *fuga et maritima opportunitas*: hendiadys. — *lente*: *reluctantly*. — *cepi*: *took charge of*.

5. *ipsi*: Pompey. — *cum illo non*: short and excited, as the whole style of this letter is in its abruptness and the preponderance of independent sentences, betraying the deep excitement and nervous tension under which the writer was laboring. — *profectus*: Pompey had asked him to join him, and Cicero had actually started. — *Infero*: the Western Sea. — *cum fratre*: Quintus's position at this moment was doubtful. — *populare*: the old hatred on account of the treatment of the Catilinarians was still smoldering. — *compedes*: Cicero still clung to the hope of a triumph. He had not yet resigned his *imperium*, the signs of which were the Fasces, wreathed in laurel because he had been victorious. — *ut*: concessive.

6. *restitero*: from *resto*. — *parte*: Caesar's party. — *Cinnae*: 87, during the controversy between Marius and Sulla. — *Philippus*: L. Marcius P., L. Valerius Flaccus, Q. Mucius Scaevola had remained in Rome when the rest of the senatorial party had fled to Sulla's camp. Scaevola had been killed shortly afterwards. — *cecidit*: technical term of the dice game. — *Thrasybulus*: Athenian patriot, who after the end of the Peloponnesian War temporarily withdrew from Athens, but later on returned with armed followers and overthrew the Thirty Tyrants. — *certa*: *well grounded* (Tyrrell). For the force of *quaedam*, see G. 313, R. 1. — *sit enim*: concessive. — *in Caieta*: the preposition, because Cicero refers not to the city, but to his estate near it.

7. *Corfinium*: (*esse sc.*). — *relinquat*: as to the facts, see Pompey's letter, *Att.* VIII, 12, D. — *Afranium*: Pompey's *legatus*. — *Trebonio*: C. T. had been one of the Caesarian tribunes, and had been made *legatus* in Gaul. — *Fabium*: likewise a *legatus* of Caesar's in Gaul. — *adventare* = *adventurum esse*.

LXXXIV. The letter, brief as it is, contains an excellent summary of the reasons for Caesar's success and Pompey's failure.

1. *lippitudinis*: acute or chronic inflammations of the eye seem to have been exceedingly frequent in antiquity. — *librarii*: *secretary*. — *nuntii*: not persons; from Brundisium, where Pompey was. — *hic*: Caesar; *ille*, Pompey.

2. **multum**, etc. : the pusillanimity of the small property owner in times of war and revolution has rarely been characterized in a more trenchant manner.

LXXXV. Caesar had made overtures to Cicero through a common friend. This letter to Atticus, after summing up once more the news of the day, discusses this proposal. A copy of Caesar's letter was inclosed (6 A).

1. **nihil**: (*audivimus* sc.). — **Balbus**: L. Cornelius Balbus, a Spaniard, a financial genius, had received Roman citizenship on account of his support of Rome during the Sertorian War. He was especially intimate with Caesar, whose *praefectus fabrum* he had been, and whom he represented in Rome as his financial and political agent, but he also was on good terms with Pompey, and a friend of Cicero. — **putari**: impersonal. — **tramisisse**: to Greece. — **minore Balbo**: nephew of Lucius Balbus, just now sent on a secret mission to Lentulus. — **Curium**: Vibius Curius, one of Caesar's cavalry generals, now commanding his vanguard. — **Minucia**: (*via* sc.), perhaps = Valeria. — **eum**: Caesar. — **Arpinum**: Cicero's birthplace. For sentimental as well as political reasons, it appears, Cicero had determined to celebrate the fifteenth birthday of his son there, away from the temptations of the capital. — **puram**: the white cloak worn by adults only. — **quo**, etc.: (*eamus* sc.).

2. **Domitius**: Ahenobarbus, the commander of the surrendered forces at Corfinium. — **Cosano**: near Cosa in Etruria. Breaking his parole, Domitius went from here to Marseilles; *B.C.* I, 36. — **Curtium**: M. C. Postumus, an enthusiastic partizan of Caesar, with whom Cicero had brought him into contact. Hence the expression *patronus*.

3. **exemplo**: *tenor*. *Exemplo* means both the original which is copied and the copy. — **milia**: predicate nominative.

4. **οὐδέ**: Hom. *Il.* X, 93, *my heart is not whole within me but I am torn by anxiety*; freely paraphrased by Cicero in the next words. — **Pompeio**: (*fuisse* sc.). — **nam**: elliptic; I need not mention Quintus, for . . .

5. **αλχρῶν**: *the realization of my disgrace*.

6. **Furnius**: a friend of Cicero, tribune 50. — **Titini filium**: some contemptible fellow. — **ἐν δυνάμει**: *with authority*. — **valuisti**: Atticus had been ailing. — **σύν τε**; Hom. *Il.* X, 224:

when two walk together, the one sees before the other. "Four eyes see more than two."

7. *acta*: to cry over spilt milk (Tyrrell). — *uti . . . liberari*: chiasmus.

LXXXVI. See introductory note to *Att.* IX, 6. Notice the careful formality of the superscription, flattering Cicero's vanity about his military achievements. Coming from the victor in Gaul, the title *imperator* applied to Cicero becomes almost sarcastic.

1. *properarem*: with *cum*. — *ad urbem*: not *in*, because both men were *cum imperio*. — *ope*: the word is the crucial point of the whole letter, as it invites Cicero to join the Caesarian party. Cicero felt this very well; cp. *Att.* IX, 11, 2; *Att.* IX, 9, 3: *permagni eius interest rem ad interregnum non venire. Id adsequitur si per praetorem consules creantur. . . . Hoc a me decerni velit.* — *propositum*: his excuse of being hurried. Cicero tried to avoid the decision by staying in Formiae. This was also the advice of Atticus, IX, 7, 2.

LXXXVII. A letter, or rather a written soliloquy, discussing the pros and contras of the question whether the writer should stay in Italy or go to join Pompey in Greece. Nothing could better illustrate the truth of Cicero's statement that in communicating with Atticus he felt as if he were communing with his own soul.

1. *uno*: masculine.

2. *unus manipularis*: a common soldier. — *vidi*: January 19, in Rome. — *ἐν τοῖς*: in love affairs. — *avis*: an allusion to a passage from Plato's letters (VII, 348 A) (Tyrrell). — *minae*: on the part of Pompey and his followers. — *remansissent*: subjunctive of partial obliquity. — *illud*: (*verbum dixit* sc.). — *potuit*: (*in urbe regnare* sc. or something similar).

3. *haeserunt*: stuck to me, stayed with me (in my thoughts); so below. — *Tarquinius*: Superbus, who according to the vulgar tradition incited King Porsenna of Etruria and Mamilius to make war on Rome. — *Coriolanus*: C. Marcius Coriolanus, who when banished returned with the Volscians to lay siege to Rome. — *Themistocles*: alluding to the legend that he committed suicide rather than help his host, King Artaxerxes, to make war on Athens. — *Hippias*: who was present in that battle.

That he fell is a doubtful tradition. — **at**: imaginary objection on the part of the Pompeians. — **Sulla, Marius, Cinna**: in making civil war. — **conservatorem, parentem**: in 63. — **Getarum**: Pompey counted on the aid of the Eastern nations, among whom his prestige since the Mithridatic War had been great. The Getae and Colchi are named more for effect than because they actually were expected to help. — **civibus, Italiae**: chiasmus. It shows how deeply ingrained rhetoric was in Cicero that he uses this figure (spontaneously) in so intimate a confession. — **hunc**: Pompey. — **mortalem**: *merely a human being*. — **conveniret**: (*inter Pompeium et Caesarem*). — **hic**: Pompey; *ille*, Caesar. — **aegroto**: notice the age of this well-worn saying. — **oportuit**: (*evolare* sc.).

4. **volumen**: a batch; the letters, it seems, were written not on tablets, but on papyrus, and had been pasted together in book (roll) form. — *ἀλογίστως*: *senselessly*. — **consulenti**: (*te* sc.). — **finis**: on the gender see G. 58, 1. — *ὑποκορίξῃ*: *dignify by the word peregrination*.

5. *χρησμός*: *oracular saying*; because it is so indefinite. Compare such oracles as the one to Pyrrhus, *Aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse*. — *ἄσπονδον*: *without a truce, à l'outrance*. — **sim**: potential. — *φιλόπατριν*: *patriot*; *πολιτικόν*, *statesman*.

6. **in speculis**: *on guard*. — **sullaturit, proscripturit**: words formed by Cicero. Verbs in *-urio* denote inclination. Translate, *plays Sulla, hankers after proscriptions*. — *γενικώτερον*: *of more general character*. — **cederet, cederes**: future condition in *O.O.*

7. **evolvis**: cp. Verg. *Aen.* I, 262, *volvens fatorum arcana movebo*. — **Lepidus**: M'. Aemilius L.; L. Volcacius Tullus; moderatists during the Civil War; both had been consuls in 66. — *νέκυιαν*: *procession of the dead*; a name applied by Atticus to Caesar's followers, because they were in such desperate financial circumstances. — *ἀπορώ*: *I don't know*. — *στερκτέον*: *one must acquiesce* (Tyrrell).

8. **fuga**: Pompey's escape from Brundisium. — *τὸ μέλλον*: *you must watch developments* (Tyrrell). — *ὑπὸ*: *during your seizure*, by illness.

9. **admissum**: (*in me* sc.). — *ἄσμενιστόν*: *agreeable*.

10. **Peducaeo**: Sextus Peducaeus, an intimate friend of Cicero, much esteemed by him. Dative of agent.

LXXXVIII. The reply to Caesar's letter, *Att. IX, 6 A.* The letter shows the same studied courtesy which Caesar himself had employed; so in the *superscriptio*, where Cicero styles himself *imperator*, in the repetition of *Furnio nostro, ad urbem esse*, the quotation *uti . . . ope*.

1. *spe deducebar*: *Att. IX, 9, 3*, he had interpreted the words differently; cp. to *Att. IX, 6 A.* — *naturam*: *character*; *personam*: *personality, position*.

2. *cum primum*: referring to his absence in Cilicia. — *belli partem*: his charge of the seashore carried with it no direct military obligation. — *honorem*: the consulship for 48. — *anni*: after his return from exile. Notice the emphatic position of *aliquot*.

3. *ut tuo*: explanatory to *cogitationi*. — *fidem*: reliability. — *conservari*: not "save." He wanted his neutral position recognized. — *Lentulo*: P. Lentulus Spinther, captured at Corfinium and pardoned. He had been instrumental in effecting Cicero's recall in 57.

LXXXIX. A letter to Atticus containing Caesar's reply to the letter written by Cicero in answer to his first note (*Att. IX, 6 A; IX, 11 A*).

1. *Sinuessae*: on his way to Rome and Spain. — *opes*: not wealth, but "influence, support." On the facts cp. the two letters referred to above. — *clementiam*: *Att. IX, 11 A, 2.* — *collaudavissem*: the preposition here intensifies; cp. *comburare*, burn to the ground.

2. *triumpho*: a very strong expression. Caesar seems to have been fond of it, as he used it also in a letter to Cicero congratulating him about the supplication after his return from Cilicia; *Att. VII, 1, 7.* — *discessisse*: like Domitius; *Att. IX, 6, 2.*

3. *velim*: potential, veiling by politeness the real idea of command. — *ad urbem*: cp. *Att. IX, 6 A.* — *Dolabella*: Cicero's son-in-law. — *hanc* = *huius rei*, namely of bringing about Cicero's joining Caesar. The conqueror had made public proclamation of a Senate meeting for the first of April (*Att. IX, 17, 1*). — *me*: accusative.

XC. Caesar, on his way north, had asked Cicero for a meeting. This letter tells how the two met.

1. **consilio**: it seems that Cicero had discussed with Atticus how he should receive Caesar. — **existimaret**: to gain his esteem rather than his gratitude, namely by emphasizing his willingness to become the mediator, and his unwillingness to take sides. — **urbem**: (*iremus* sc.). — **illa**: explained by the *quod*-clause. — **minus**: (*facile* sc.). — **damnari, fore**: dependent on the historical infinitive *dicere*. — **ego**: (*dixi* sc.). — **multa**: (*dixisset, inquit* sc.). — **iri, transportari**: by Caesar. — **eo**: instead of *ibi*, colloquial; G. 385, n. 3; in Rome. — **exitum**: an end to the conversation. — **deliberarem**: with a verb of asking understood. — **me amavi**: *was satisfied with myself*.

2. **comitatus, νέκυνια**: cp. *Att.* IX, 10, 7. — *ἥρως*: *prominent*. — **Celer**: Eros, slave of Atticus's father-in-law, Q. Pilius Celer. — **Servi, Titini**: unknown types of low fellows.

3. *κατακλείς*: *finale*, Caesar's parting words. — **ut scripseras**: of that kind. — **cedō**: an old imperative. — **ipse**: Caesar; he went to Norba. — *λαλαγεῦσαν*: *swallowlike*, literally "twittering." The word is an emendation by Bosius, based on an epigram in the Palatine Anthology (X, 1): "It is the season for sailing; for the swallow and Zephyr have come." The passage thus would contain a veiled hint that Cicero contemplated joining Pompey across the sea. — **tuam**: (*epistulam* sc.).

4. **extremum**: the last step, the last topic in our discussion. — *πολιτικήν*: *statesmanlike*. The excitement under which the writer labored is shown in the abruptness and in the frequent omission of the verb.

XCI. For Caelius see introductory note to *Fam.* VIII, 1. The letter was written to keep Cicero from joining the Pompeians.

1. **neque non**: no litotes. The somewhat enigmatic words refer to a lost letter of Cicero in which he must have hinted at his intention of leaving Italy. — **gravius**: the open support of Pompey. — **salute, incolumitate**: almost synonymous. — **eandem**: as at Corfinium. — **exiit**: from Rome. — **intercessionibus**: of the tribune Metellus, who indulged in many petty annoyances in order to emphasize the illegality of Caesar's acts. See *B.C.* I, 33.

2. **filius, domus**: as Cicero's family was united in its sympathies for Pompey (*Att.* IX, 6, 4), the words must contain a veiled threat by order of Caesar. — **gener**: Dolabella. — **odisse**:

a fine flattery, as if Cicero's arguments and example would carry weight with these soldiers of fortune. — **offensae**: colloquial for *offensio*. On this use of the feminine participle as an abstract see Usener, *Goetternamen*, 373.

3. **Hispaniis**: Caesar was now marching against Afranius and Petreius. — **isti**: the Pompeians, with a hint at Cicero's sympathies. — **accedere**: appositive to *consilium*; the construction is unusual, the genitive of the gerund or an explanatory *ut*-clause being regular.

4. **non dicendo**: one idea; see § 1, *non aperuisti*. On the rare use of the gerund to express manner or circumstance, see G. 431. — **hoc contendissem**: *should have struggled for this*; G. 332.

5. **sciens prudensque**: a proverbial expression applied to those who take rash steps.

XCII. The letter, which is preserved as an inclosure to Atticus, is presumably the one written at the instigation of Caelius (*Fam.* VIII, 16, 4).

1. **hominum fama**: so *Fam.* VIII, 16, 4; *Caesar audierat*. — **quo**: indefinite pronoun, instead of *eo*, leaving Cicero's intentions purposely indistinct. — **re**: of Pompey. — **namque . . . consulueris**: a veiled threat. — **causam**: *policy*. — **iudicasti**: with complementary infinitive = *velle, decernere*. — **quo gravius**: returning to a conciliatory tone after his threats.

2. **testimonio amicitiae**: *amicitiae* is perhaps best explained as an abstract with collective force = *amicorum*. So *servitia* = "slave bands." See in general on the connection between collectives and abstracts, Usener, *Goetternamen*, 373. — **tutius**: referring to the threats; *honestius*, holding out the expectation of rewards.

XCIII. The answer to *Fam.* VIII, 16, disclaiming all intentions of joining Pompey. On Cicero's feelings during these weeks, see *Att.* IX, 18, 3.

1. **eam** = *talem*. — **quod**: relative, antecedent *id*. — **ut existimares**: not his real sentiments, as appears from *Att.* IX, 18, but expressed in an intentionally indefinite manner, so as to conciliate Caesar, the mental addressee of the letter, without direct prevarication.

2. **triste**: cp. *Fam.* VIII, 16, 1, *nihil nisi triste*. — **disce-**

derem: subjunctive of the imperfect, because the project belongs to the past. — **insolentium**: the upstarts with Caesar. — **imperii**: instead of *imperatoris*. — **voculas**: diminutive, partly to express his contempt for the *malevoli*, partly for rhetorical reasons to correspond in sound to *oculos*. — **praediola**: *my poor estates*, diminutive of modesty. — **maritimis**: (*praediolis* sc.). — **facillime**: *most frequently*. — **qui**: interrogative adverb. — **ab eo**: G. 390, 2, N. 6.

3. **Cumanum**: Caelius had visited Cicero on his return from Cilicia. — **Ampi**: T. A. Balbus, a noble Roman, zealous partizan of Pompey, not to be confused with Cornelius Balbus, the agent of Caesar. — **Q. Hortensium**: the orator, friend, and rival of Cicero. He had died in 50. — **hoc**: specification. — **illi**: dative of reference; G. 356. — **tribuebatur**: subject, *interfuisse*, understood.

4. **ad timorem**: purpose; *to frighten me*.

5. **filio**: for the sentiment here expressed, cp. *Cat.* IV, 23. — **optimum**: a remarkable statement about this notorious profligate. — **specula**: diminutive of *spes*; *faint hope*. — **molestiis**: debts. Among the things which Cicero dreaded most as a consequence of Caesar's final victory were *tabulae novae*, i.e. an official cancellation or reduction of all existing debts. Here, however, he views such a step from the narrow standpoint of selfish personal interest, since the financial troubles of Dolabella made both Cicero and his daughter most unhappy. — **dies**: days of settlement; the Kalends and Ides, on which bills due were to be paid in Rome.

6. **Hispaniensem casum**: the outcome of the Spanish campaign. — **vaticinor**: *talk like a soothsayer*, who were much despised and ridiculed in Rome, especially by the poets and rhetoricians. Cp. the famous line *qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant viam*. — **senes**: in the Sullan troubles. For the deep impression made by these on Cicero, cp. *Cat.* II, 20. — **sed tamen**: *aposiopesis*.

7. **Oppio**: a Roman knight, always mentioned in the letters together with the Spaniard Balbus. He was just then expecting to be raised either to senatorial rank or to the consulship. Senators wore a broad purple stripe, the *latus clavus*. — **Curtius**: M. C. Postumus; see to *Att.* IX, 6, 2. He hoped to become

augur. As such he would wear a purple robe, here jocularly spoken of as *dibaphum*, *i.e.* either double-dyed or two-colored. The only delay, Cicero says, comes from the fact that the dyer is disappointing him, meaning perhaps Caesar. — **Dolabella**: he was then in command of a fleet in the Adriatic Sea, and therefore unable to press his financial claims with Caesar in person.

XCIV. Cicero had now taken the decisive step of embarking to join Pompey. He had been sick when boarding the ship, and wrote this letter to set his folks at rest.

1. **habui** = *feci*. *Habere* with an adjective or perfect participle shows that something has taken place and its effect is still lasting. — **eieci**: intentional play on words; *cp.* below. — *χολήν*: *pure bile*. — **medicinam fecisse**: *mederi* has no perfect; the use of *facere* in such a combination is colloquial. — **quemadmodum soles**: *cp. Fam. XIV, 1, 1; 4, 1.*

2. **habere**: for the tense see G. 531, N. 4. Cicero was a poor sailor. — **negotia**: *situation*. — **istic**: Italy. — **similibus**: political friends.

3. **militibus**: Caesar's. — **carior**: she would naturally have less to spend during a time of "war prices."

XCV. A letter from Cicero's son-in-law Dolabella, while he was in camp with Caesar near Dyrrhachium.

S(i) v(ales) g(audeo) v(aleo): freer than the ordinary formula.

1. **Tullia**: Cicero's daughter. — **habuit**: (*se sc.*). Cicero rarely omits the pronoun in this formula. — **partium**: the plural of *pars* is used to denote a political party. — **suadere**: appositive to *suspicionem*. — **ab animo**: slight personification.

2. **pulso, circumvallato**: datives; but *amissis, capto* are ablatives. — **Italia**: for the omission of the preposition see G. 390, 2, N. 1. — **animum adverte**: anteclassical; G. 342.

3. **rusus** = *rursus*, with evanescent *r* before *s*, belonging to the *sermo plebeius*; *cp. Sities = sitiens*, and G. 9, 6, b. — **civitatem**: here = "city"; the first instance of this use. — **imperatore**: Caesar. The military title is used intentionally, to emphasize that these are times of war with all their consequences. — **reverti**: he asks for a "free conduit."

XCVI. A letter written after Cicero's return to Italy after the battle of Pharsalus.

perpetuo: Terentia had expressed her joy at hearing of his

safe arrival. Cicero, however, doubted the wisdom and safety of his step. — **explicare**: it was not certain how Caesar would look upon his return. — **in viam**: notice the coolness of this refusal to see his wife, which is but poorly masked behind the alleged perils of the journey.

XCVII. The estrangement between Cicero and Terentia was now progressing rapidly. It is shown in the short mention he bestows on her health in comparison with that of his worthless son-in-law and of his daughter. The tone of the letter is one of deep exhaustion and listlessness.

XCVIII.

negotia: troubles. — **Lepta**: his former *praefectus fabrum*. — **Trebatio**: see introductory note to *Fam.* VII, 5.

XCIX.

Ciceronem: see *Fam.* XIV, 11. — **adventu**: from Asia. — **Sicca**: one of Cicero's friends, who had sheltered him at Vibo in 58.

C. Tullia had visited her father in Brundisium, but failed to comfort him, because she was herself very unhappy in her marital relations. Cicero felt her misery very deeply, but for political reasons saw himself unable to break with Dolabella, with whom he maintained friendly intercourse even after Tullia's death.

nostra neglegentia: these words show Cicero's true courtesy. Tullia had been betrothed to Dolabella while her father was absent in Cilicia, and he had viewed the match with great misgivings. To shoulder the responsibility, as he does, is an act of almost modern gallantry. — **Ciceronem**: his son; he was to effect a reconciliation. — **Sallustium**: it is doubtful whether he means here the quaestor of Bibulus, who was his friend, or a freedman. The expression *mittere* would seem to point to the latter.

CI. The growing estrangement shows itself in the short tone. Cicero no longer gives his commissions to his wife, but to his friend Atticus.

feri: regarding Tullia's divorce from Dolabella. Cp. *Att.* XI, 23, 3, *te oro ut de hac misera cogites . . . melius nihil fuit discidio*. — **serius**: Dolabella had begun a wild and disgraceful campaign for the abolition of all debts. — **valetudinem cura**: simply a stereotyped formula of politeness.

CII. This is the last letter to Terentia which we have.

Tusculanum: on his way from the south, after his reconciliation with Caesar. — **ut sint**: (*fac*, or *cura*, *se.*); G. 271. — **plures**: he does not even deign to name them. The whole tone of the letter is brutal. — **labrum**: a round basin, supported by a single foot of about three feet height, around which people washed. For illustration, see Baumeister, *Denkmaeler*, under *Bad.* — **balineo**: for the epenthetic *i* see G. 8, 3.

CIII. M. Terentius Varro, of Reate, 116–28, the most learned of the Romans. He wrote works on history, language, literature, and agriculture. During the Civil War he had been general for Pompey in Hispania Ulterior, and had proved somewhat lukewarm (*B.C.* II, 17: *se ad motum fortunae movere coepit*). Later on he was with Cicero at Dyrrhachium. Caesar forgave him and made him librarian of the great library on the Palatine (Suet. *Cae.* 44). Cicero, although he respected the man's learning, rather disliked his cold nature, and the letters to him, in spite of their friendliness, show great reserve.

1. **etsi**: restricting the wish just expressed.

2. **venerim**: probably late in October. The year 47, spent in retirement in Brundisium, had been barren of literary achievement. — **usum**: in its social meaning, "intimacy," "society." — **sociis**: the partizans of Pompey; ablative of attendant circumstance. — **praeceptis**: referring especially to the philosophical works. He had lost the calm aloofness from worldly affairs which they advised. The sentiment here expressed is at variance with his true estimate of the value of the *Humaniora*. — **permanseris**: because Varro had kept up his literary pursuits even during the war. — **ad te**: for *apud*, colloquial; G. 416, 1.

CIV. M. Iunius Brutus, the chief figure among the conspirators against Caesar, had as a young man helped his uncle Cato to subjugate Cyprus. During the time thus spent in the Orient, he had engaged in business, and had lent large sums to Cappadocia at usurious interest. He had been there with Appius Claudius Pulcher, the predecessor of Cicero in Cilicia, but had left before the orator reached his province, and, dissatisfied with Cicero's honesty, he had quarreled with him. Later on he joined the Pompeians, but was pardoned by Caesar, who had been an intimate friend of his mother. He had gone so far in his recantation

as to inform Caesar of the direction in which Pompey was fleeing after Pharsalus. Cicero had now made his peace with him, and the *Brutus* as well as the *Orator*, both of this period, are dedicated to him. He was at present governor of Cisalpine Gaul.

The letter shows excellently well how true the claim of Cicero in the Catilinarian speeches was, that he had the connections with the *municipia* very much at heart (*Cat.* IV, 23). It also throws an interesting sidelight on the municipal government of the smaller towns.

1. cuius: Cicero's family belonged to the prominent people of Arpinum. — **sarta:** a technical term; to keep in repair. — **communium:** profane, in contrast to *sacrarum*, but belonging to the town. — **vectigalibus:** rent from property owned by the town. — **colonis:** *tenants*.

3. constituendi: when municipalities were in financial troubles, they often elected men belonging to prominent houses to high office, expecting them to show their appreciation of the honor by liberal contributions towards the finances. The custom is better known from the time of the Emperors; see Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte*, and Dill, *Society in Rome from the Times of Nero*. — **aedilem:** the usual title of the chief municipal officers was *II viri*, or *IIII viri*. Two aediles were always elected, and occasionally these were the chief magistrates.

CV.

1. Caninius: L. C. Gallus, an insignificant politician of the times. — **idem et idem:** the emphatic repetition is colloquial. — **pervesperi:** *late in the evening*. — **at tibi:** ethical dative, colloquial; G. 351, N. 1. — **proficisci:** on the omission of the subject, see G. 527, R. 3. — **ἔωλος:** *antiquated, stale*. — **tantis:** news of the battle of Thapsus had just come. — **lucubrationem:** *jocular, mid-night labor*.

2. sint: pregnant, *occur*. — **credo:** ironical. — **Lynceus:** one of the Argonauts, famous for his "lynx eyes."

3. bellum: adjective. — **qui venissent:** *any chance acquaintance*; Latin uses relative clauses where the modern languages have coined nouns; G. 610, R. 1. — **ἀεληθῶς:** *insensibly*.

5. raucus: has shouted itself hoarse. — **salutem:** the years of political trouble marked the height of Cicero's literary activity. — **architectos:** a latinized form, instead of *architectones*. The

word is contrasted with *fabros*; *master builders, workmen*. — *πολιτείας*: writings on constitutions, such as Plato and Aristotle had left, and Cicero himself had published.

CVI.

1. *Caninius*: see *Fam.* IX, 2, 1. — *est in expectatione*: *is expected*. — *Alsiense*: a seaside resort in Etruria. Caesar was on his way from Africa. — *Hirtius*: *legatus* of Caesar in Gaul; he was now praetor. — *Balbus*: see to *Fam.* VII, 5, 2. — *Oppium*: see to *Fam.* II, 16, 7.

2. *initia rerum*: the beginning of the Civil War.

3. *malum*: the total annihilation of either army of citizens was a great misfortune, but to be victorious in such a war was a greater one. — *otiosis*: those who remained neutral. — *potiti*: (*victoria* sc.). — *censuissemus*: after Pharsalus, when Cicero was asked to become commander-in-chief. — *fuerit*: the change in tense from *censuissemus*, because it represents an original *fuit*. — *bestiarum*: subjective.

4. *subsidia*: this is Cicero's honest sentiment about the benefits derived from literary pursuits; cp. *Arch.* 12. — *instar vitae*: *equal to a whole life*. — *ut liceat*: concessive.

5. *ut possumus*: restrictive. — *multi docti*: philosophers, who preferred the contemplative life to that of the statesman. — *abutamur*: not "abuse," but use to its fullest extent.

CVII. L. Papirius Paetus was a rich man with a tendency toward the Epicurean philosophy. Like Atticus, he kept strictly aloof from political life, a fact which did not prevent his being a friend of both Cicero and Caesar.

1. *amavi amorem*: *Figura Etymologica*; about the same as *I am much obliged for*. — *Silius*: P. S. Nerva, an acquaintance of both men. He was a friend of Caesar and seems to have warned Cicero not to offend the dictator by his witticisms. — *bis eodem exemplo*: two different copies of the same letter, sent to forestall the miscarrying of the communication. — *quo* = *quoque*, which is rarely used as an adjective; G. 105, N. 4.

2. *ea res*: a reconciliation with Caesar. — *istorum*: the Caesarians.

3. *illo*: Caesar. — *iure*: *constitution*. — *effugere*: it would seem that some witty remarks of Cicero about the new ruler had become more widely known.

4. **Servius**: S. Claudius, cousin of Paetus, a well-known student and writer. He had written, among other things, a dissertation on the genuineness of Plautus's plays. His library had become Cicero's property after his death, in 60, through the liberality of Paetus; *Att.* I, 20, 7. — **notandis generibus**: by observing the style of the different poets. — ἀποφθεγμάτων: Caesar had made a collection of the witty sayings of his contemporaries. — **haec ad illum**: these very words might be included among the apophthegmata, for they contain a stricture of Caesar's system of police espionage. — **actis**: news of the day. Thus *Acta Diurnalia*, the official gazette, since 59. — **Oenomao**: a tragedy by Accius (170–84), from which Paetus had warningly quoted. — **loco**: *appropriately*. In the same meaning Horace uses the preposition, *Dulce est desipere in loco*, *C.* IV, 12, 28.

5. **invidia**: Paetus had evidently warned Cicero of the jealousy of Caesar's friends. — **philosophis**: the Academy and the Stoa. — **in officio**: *in (performing) the duty*.

6. **Acci similitudinem**: the lines quoted from Accius above seem to have compared the insidious influence of jealousy to the wearing away of a rock by the beating of the waves. — **monumenta**: *records*, as in *Arch.* 14, *exempla*. — **viri**: Solon at Athens, Plato in Syracuse.

7. **Atellanam**: a coarse improvised burlesque, with scenes from rustic life, taken by the Romans from the Oscan town of Atella. It was later on produced on the stage as a counterpoise to the seriousness of the tragedy, like the satyr play of the Greek stage. In Cicero's time it was being crowded out by the *Mimus*, with one actor only and subjects of the city life, more artistic, but also more obscene than the *Atellana*. — **popellum**: one of many attempts to mend a corrupt word. So is *thynnarium*, just below. The general meaning, however, is clearly that of popular and cheap dishes, like the *tyrotarichi patina*, a hash of fish and cheese. These Cicero now spurns, since Hirtius and Dolabella have taught him the true "gentleman's" way of dining. — **dicendi**: he instructed them in oratory to gain thereby the favor of their patron Caesar. The passage is bitterly sarcastic. For on the one hand Hirtius and Dolabella were no literary stars. Hirtius was well educated, but primarily a soldier. His literary achievements may be judged by the eighth book of the *B.G.*, which he

wrote after Caesar's death. Dolabella was naturally lazy, and his letters show him far removed from literary polish. On the other hand, both were famous *bonvivants*, while Cicero was naturally a man of modest tastes. The comical effect of the passage is heightened by the use of the frequentatives *declamitare*, *cenitare*. — **eiures**: a legal term; the oath by which a man declares himself insolvent. — **quaesticulis**: colloquial diminutive from *quaestus*; *small profits*. — **bona perdas**: real estate values had shrunk very much during the war. It was becoming increasingly difficult to enforce the payment of debts. To relieve the debtors, Caesar issued a law that real estate should be appraised by a commission according to the value it had had before the war, and that creditors should be compelled to accept the estates at this fictitious value. Among the financiers thus afflicted was also Paetus, who had complained about his loss, half in jest, to Cicero. He seems to have said that he would be compelled to practice economy and would begin with his table. — **aestimationem**: the appraisal; which would naturally be too high, and thus represent a loss, if the estate was taken over; hence *aestimationem accipere* = *to suffer a loss*. — **plaga**: *wound*.

8. **Phameae**: a vulgar freedman, notorious for his display at banquets. — **temperius**: to dine early was considered rather luxurious. — **matris**: "a dinner like mother used to cook," of the simple fare of everyday life. — **polypum**: the octopus was, and is, in Italy a dish of the lower classes. It seems to have been served in a red sauce; hence *miniati Iovis similem*, because the statue of Juppiter Capitolinus in early times was daubed red on feast days. — **promulsidae**: the first part of the dinner, consisting chiefly of appetizers, eggs, and the like, our *hors d'œuvres*. Cicero means that he must have something solid to eat, not mere snacks. — **oleis et lucanicis**: *oils*, *i.e.* olives and fish put up in oil, and *sausages*, a custom still prevailing in Italy. — **debilitari**: *spoil my appetite*.

9. **isto** = *istuc*. — **balneum calfacias**: a jocular allusion to his newly acquired habit of bathing immediately before the *cena*; cp. Petronius, *Trimalchio*, 28.

10. **villa Seliciana**: a villa near Naples which Cicero contemplated buying from its owner Selicius. — **salis, sannionum**: a jest which is not quite intelligible. The estate seems to have

had salt works as its chief source of revenue, but little else. Cicero puns on the double meaning of *sal* (salt, wit). The Sannio was one of the standing characters of the Atellana. But the reading is by no means certain. If we accept it, the sense would seem to be, "there will be wit enough, but few in a humor to use it."

CVIII. Q. Ligarius had been legatus to the propraetor of Africa at the beginning of the Civil War. He had been a zealous Pompeian. Captured at Thapsus he had gone into exile. It took some time before Caesar would listen to any pleadings for him. He was accused by a certain Tubero of acts hostile to Caesar. Cicero, however, spoke in his defense (*Pro Ligario*) and obtained his pardon from Caesar. This letter was written while Ligarius still was an exile.

1. *tempore*: exigency; cp. *L. Man.* 1. — *oratione*: mere words. — *levare*: by giving him facts.

2. *opinio*: (regard for) public opinion.

3. *eius*: Caesar. — *Africanae causae*: the war in Africa, where the Pompeians had made their last stand. *Causa* = *partes*.

4. *sentirem*: formal sequence; translate by present. — *imago*: a bitter expression; *shadow*.

CIX.

1. *scurram*: a professional jester, such as the Romans had at their dinners. — *velitem*: properly a light-armed skirmisher; here transferred to the rapid, ever changing attacks of the *scurra*. — *mālis*: as the *scurra* used to appear at the dessert (*secunda mensa*), the apples regularly served with this would furnish good missiles; whether Cicero here refers to real apples — a present from the villa of his friend — or to a volley of witticisms in Paetus's letters, can no longer be ascertained. — *ista loca*: the vicinity of Naples, where Paetus was staying. — *promulside*: see to *Fam.* IX, 16, 8. — *conficere*: finish. Cicero's appetite used to be satisfied with the *promulsis*, *Fam.* IX, 16, 8. — *ovum*: with which the meal opened. — *assum vitulinum*: roast veal, the last course of the *cena* proper. — *illa mea*: Cicero's habits, while the quoted words were uttered by Paetus. — *adversarii*: because of the enmity between the Epicureans and the Academy. — *castra*: cp. Hor. *C.* III, 16, 22, *nil cupientium nudus castra peto*. — *insolentiam*: luxury. — *habebas*: (*pecuniam* sc.). — *plura*:

because Paetus had been compelled to accept real estate in payment of debts, so that he was rich in land, but poor in cash; see *Fam.* IX, 16, 7.

2. *ὀψιμαθεῖς*: *qui sero sapiunt*, "autodidacts," whose pride in their insufficient attainments was often ridiculed in antiquity. — *sportellae*: baskets with fruits, etc., which guests took home as souvenirs. — *artolagani*: a sort of flat cakes. — *Verrium, Camillum*: noted gourmands. — *Hirtio*: see to *Fam.* IX, 16, 7. — *pavone*: the peacock was the most expensive poultry of the time. — *ius*: some hot soup or sauce.

3. *salutamus*: greet visitors, *i.e.* receive visits. — *corpori*: care of the body, including bath and exercise. — *iacente*: ill in bed. — *comedim*: for this form see G. 130, 4; 172, N.

CX. Paetus had heard rumors that Caesar intended to distribute land grants among his veterans and was worrying about his possessions. He had therefore inquired of Cicero about the truth of the report.

1. *non*: the omission of *-ne* is meant to express disgust; G. 453. — *Balbus*: L. Cornelius B., Caesar's friend and financial agent, who had been visiting Paetus. — *municipiis*: in Campania. — *habuisti*: namely Balbus. — *de lucro*: *from hand to mouth*. *Lucrum* is an unexpected gain. Cicero means, that every day is such a gain when one's life depends on the will of any one man. — *mori debuit*: like Cato, with whose fate the thoughts of Cicero had often been occupied during this year, when he published his eulogy of the man.

2. *Veientem*: in Etruria; *Capenatem*: in Latium. — *metiuntur*: Caesar's surveyors. — *vir fortis*, etc.: ironical; a man of that type ought to have put an end to his life. — *ille*: Caesar. — *ita*: with *conligavit*.

3. *temporibus*: *opportunity*. — *sapientia*: referring to Paetus's philosophical studies.

CXI. In this letter, which is really meant for publication, Cicero defends himself against the attacks of those who blamed him for having made his peace with Caesar. For Marius see *Fam.* VII, 1.

1. *illius temporis*: construction of verbs of remembering (*in mentem venire*), although we might expect the nominative as subject of *solet*. — *proxime*: *last* (Tyrrell). — *Lentulo*: the consuls

of 49. — **Pompeianum**: his estate near that city. — **explicarem**: not "explain." — **pudori famaeque**: *considerations of . . .*

2. **ibi**: in Pompey's camp. — **reliqui**: this bad character of the Pompeians and their fierceness are very often mentioned by Cicero. — **aes alienum**: because it would lead to proscriptions in order to enrich the men with the confiscated estates. — **pugna**: Dyrrhachium, 48. — **nullus**: this use of the word belongs to familiar language; G. 317, 2, n. 2.

3. **hunc**: object accusative, *finem*, predicate accusative. — **insidias**: *guerrilla war*. — **Iuba**: king of Numidia, with whom several of the Pompeians took refuge until defeated by Caesar in the battle of Thapsus, April, 46. — **tamquam**: it was not a legal exile, and, therefore, carried with it no confiscation of property. — **consciscenda**: like Cato. — **fuit**: for the mood, see G. 597, R. 3. — **cum meis**: masculine; **in meis**: neuter.

4. **vetus**: (*verbum sc.*). The line here quoted in *O.O.* probably ran as follows, *ubi non es qui fueris, non est cur velis ibi vivere*; from a comic poet.

5. **alicuius**: meaning Pompey, whose name he is too generous to mention. — **omnibus**: he advised peace after the battle of Pharsalus, when the Pompeians wanted him to take the command. — **Rhodum aut Mytilenas**: thinking of M. Claudius Marcellus, who lived in exile at Mytilene.

6. **sunt enim**: rabid irreconcilables.

CXII. P. Nigidius Figulus was a great scholar, second only to Varro. He was especially noted as a teacher of the revived Pythagorean philosophy, and as a scientist, with leanings toward superstition. As praetor in 58 he had worked in Cicero's interest. During the Civil War he had fought on the side of Pompey, and was now living in exile. He died in 45, without having received the victor's pardon.

1. **genus litterarum**: for this passage see the discussion in a letter to Curio, *Fam.* II, 4, 1. — **partem** = *genus*. — **triste**: condolence without consolation. — **queri**: cp. *Fam.* VII, 3, 4.

2. **quod maneam**: this rather Platonic hankering after suicide occurs repeatedly in Cicero's letters during this period. It is difficult to say how much of it is genuine, and how much is due to that self-satisfying play with one's emotions of which

professional speakers are especially fond. — **ipsum**: G. 333, 1. — **defensa**: Nigidius had supported Cicero in 63. The participle contains the main idea of the sentence. — **esset**: contrary to fact. — **dissipari**: appositive to *id*.

3. **doctissimo**: refers to his general scholarship, while *sanc-tissimo* alludes to his philosophical training; Pythagorism was a life discipline.

4. **exquisita**: *recondite*. — **diutius**: *too*.

5. **ipsius**: Caesar's. — **possit necessest**: a curious statement if compared with § 4. Cicero, it seems, still hoped for the restoration of liberty. — **quascumque**: *with all its strength*.

6. **cetera**: money. — **usurum**: that you soon (will be able) to; a usage of the future participle approaching the poetic "fatalistic" future.

7. **melius**: (*nosti*, *sc.*).

CXIII. M. Claudius Marcellus, of the plebeian branch of the Claudii, which had been famous in Roman history since the Marcellus of Punic War fame, had supported Cicero in 63. He was a Pompeian, like most of his family. As consul in 51 he made it his chief aim to deprive Caesar of the chance of another consulship, and moved to end the term of the Gallic governorship with the 1st of March, 49. He did not take an active part in the Civil War, because he distrusted Pompey, but after Pharsalus he refused to make his peace with Caesar. He went to Mytilene, where he spent his time in study (*Brutus*, 250). Cicero tried his best to make him adopt a conciliatory attitude. In the famous Senate meeting of September, 46, Caesar pardoned him at the unanimous urging of the senators, a step which caused Cicero to break his long-continued silence in the beautiful speech of thanksgiving on Marcellus's behalf. But Marcellus even now only reluctantly accepted the victor's pardon. On his homeward journey he fell by the hand of an assassin in the Piraeus (*Fam.* IV, 12).

1. **quae acciderunt**: the fall of the republic. — **tui**: his relations, especially his cousin Gaius, the consul of 50.

2. **vel tu**: instead of *tu vel*. — **hunc locum**: Rome; a bitter Oxymoron. — **dignitates**: the plural of the abstract for persons of that quality. — **si modo**: about the doubtful attitude of Marcellus's relatives, see *Fam.* IV, 7, end.

CXIV.

1. **adhuc**: referring to Marcellus's cool reception of *Fam.* IV, 8. — **iudicem**: the regular mood in this clause would have been the indicative; G. 541, N. 2.

2. **consulatum**: for this and what follows, see *Fam.* IV, 8, introductory note. — **copias**: he considered them insufficient and had moved to postpone the actual hostilities till the levies then under way could be completed.

3. **renovare**: S. Pompeius, Cato Uticensis. — **modum**: cp. the Horatian *est modus in rebus*, S. I, 1, 106. — **ei**: Caesar, whose name is not once mentioned in the Marcellus letters. — **adferret, vereretur, putares**: the imperfect of formal sequence; translate by present.

4. **ubicumque**: because the Roman Empire was world-wide. — **passurus esset**: not a contrary-to-fact condition; see G. 597, R. 1. — **cuicumodi**: see to *Att.* III, 22, 4.

5. **rationem**: it seems that some Caesarians, and some treacherous relatives, urged Caesar to confiscate the property of Marcellus. — **auderem**: the insecurity of correspondence here referred to is often complained of by Cicero.

6. **fratris**: *cousin*; see *Fam.* IV, 8. — **ius adeundi**: Cicero had not yet entered upon personal relations with Caesar. — **reliquis**: see *Fam.* IV, 8.

CXV.

1. **litteras**: probably *Fam.* IV, 7. — **Q. Mucio**: Scaevola, one of the Optimates. — **rebus**: causes, facts. — **non est**, etc.: he means that it is unnatural to be less disturbed by rumor, which is prone to exaggeration, than by personal knowledge. The opposite view, that it is harder to witness misfortune than to hear of it, is expressed, *Fam.* IV, 13, 2. — **cum percipias**: the adversative asyndeton is a favorite construction of Cicero's.

2. **at**: introduces a possible objection on Marcellus's part. This is answered in *primum* foll. — **deinde . . . res**: the matter (of your return) does not carry with it this fault. — **si is**: Cicero often voices in his letters, both before and after the fall of Pompey, his fear that a Pompeian victory would have led to a monarchy no less than Caesar's. This had also been Marcellus's opinion. — **fuisse**: subjunctive, because influenced by *censemus*. — **te consule**: Pompey had opposed a bill of Marcellus, ending

Caesar's governorship with March 1, 49. — **fratre tuo**: his cousin, consul in 50. — **ex auctoritate tua**: continuing his policy. The facts do not seem to bear out this accusation, for when in the fall of 50 C. Marcellus saw his motion to declare Caesar a *hostis* defeated, he went, unauthorized, to Pompey outside the city, gave him a sword, and officially ordered him to protect the state against Caesar. Pompey at once accepted the commission.

3. saepe: three times during the Sullan troubles, and now. — **impotentiores**: incapable of self-control. — **tunc**: in case of a Pompeian victory. — **multis claris**: the *et* is omitted, because *claris viris* form one idea.

4. ne non sit: because the deliberation partakes of anxiety.

CXVI. Q. Cornificius, of a plebeian family, attained fame, both as an orator and poet, and as a politician. During the Civil War he was on Caesar's side. During this year he was governor of Cilicia. In 44 he was governor of Africa, and, after Caesar's death, joined the republican party. He was one of Cicero's intimate friends.

1. vos magnos oratores: an allusion to the use of the *hysteron proteron* in oratory. — **Caecilius**: a Roman knight, Pompeian, was arrested in Tyre for conspiracy, but set free. He spread the rumor that Caesar had been defeated in Africa, and that he had been appointed governor of Syria. He gained the support of the troops commanded by S. Caesar, and took up a fortified position in Apamea. His troops later joined C. Cassius. After that Bassus disappears from view. — **summum otium**: to a peaceable province. Cicero knew Cilicia well. — **negotiis**: the Spanish war.

2. bellorum civilium: very wise and true words. — **ludis**: the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, first celebrated in 46. They were later celebrated July 20–30, and assuming that this was the date from the beginning, we should have for this year, before the reform of the calendar, the days September 23 to October 3; cp. O. E. Schmidt, *Briefwechsel*, 253. — **nostri**: meant as a compliment in a letter to the adherent of the usurper. — **Plancum**: Bursa, an enemy of Cicero. — **Laberi**: Dec. Laberius, a Roman knight and poet. Caesar ordered him to appear as an actor in his own *mimus*, thereby putting on him a stigma. — **Publili**: Publius Syrus, also a writer of *mimi*, of low birth. — **quicum**: G. 105, N. 3.

CXVII. A. Caecina, a political pamphleteer and orator of the time, had been banished by Caesar. He was known to Cicero from early youth. His specialty was the study of the augural discipline (*disciplina Etrusca*). The letter was written after the pardon of Marcellus, when others also might hope for the like clemency.

1. **officium**: *support*. — **studiorum**: Cicero was very much interested in the *disciplina Etrusca* since he had been elected augur. In 44 he wrote an essay *De Divinatione*. — **argumentum**: *subject*.

2. **memini**: at the time of his exile.

3. **patre**: Caecina's father seems to have been a *haruspex*, a soothsayer from the entrails. At any rate, he came from Tuscan stock. This passage throws an interesting light on the religious attitude of the age. Even though Cicero himself apparently did not believe in *haruspicine*, many of his friends, and men of high culture at that, did, and tried to cheer him during his exile by the report of Caecina's prophecies. — **divinatio**: here simply "insight," the ability to make a political forecast. — **quam cum . . . sumus**: an amusing persiflage of the usual claims of soothsayers, that their writings were based both on long and varied reading and on a wide experience in practical cases.

5. **hunc**: Caesar. — **in toga**: as a citizen, not, as now, as imperator. — **in Hispaniam**: which was Pompey's province, as Gaul was Caesar's. — **rationem haberi**: the question whether Caesar should, against the constitution, be allowed to be a candidate for the consulship while he was in Gaul. Cicero had at first opposed it, but in 52, when Pompey as consul *sine collega* had a bill passed that no absentee should be allowed to be a candidate, Cicero supported his friend Caelius in combating this unfair law. — **ipso**: Pompey, who had first sided with Caesar.

6. **movebatur**: inceptive. — **rebus domesticis**: referring to the large debts of many Pompeians; cp. *Fam.* VII, 3, 2. — **quiescente**: he had resigned the administration of Campania. — **manente**: see the correspondence with Atticus during 49. — **deesse**: for this construction see G. 423, N. 2; 550, N. 5. — **aliquando**: in 57. — **fabulis**: *dramas*. — **Amphiaraus**: a famous seer and hero of the war of the Seven against Thebes. He

started on the expedition though he knew that he should fall. His fate has often been treated in tragedies. It has been conjectured that the quotation is taken from the *Eriphyle* of Accius.

7. **augures et astrologi**: a strange juxtaposition of the high priestly office and the imported swindle, showing the high estimation in which astrology was held in Rome. — **augur publicus**: the official title of the members of the *Collegium Augurale*. The words contain a persiflage of the boasts which soothsayers used to make about their undoubted successes. — **alitis involatu**: the phrases are the technical terms of the augural art. *Involatu*, the flight of birds through the *Templum*; *cantu sinistro*, because the left side, in contrast to the view of the Greeks, was lucky. *Tripudia* are signs drawn from the eating of the sacred chickens. The augurs observed the way in which the food dropped from their beaks. *Solistimus* is an old superlative of *sollus* = *salvus*, "most perfect." *Sonivius* refers to the sound made when the food dropped. Technical terms are also *no-tantur*, *duplici via* in § 8.*

8. **Querelarum**: a book, perhaps an elegiac poem, written by Caecina in his exile. He recanted in it for his former bitter invective against Caesar. — **Etruria**: his near compatriots were probably interceding for him. Compare the Trelawney song of English history.

9. **eodem fonte**: Caesar might reasonably hope, after the pardon was granted, to make use of the facile pen of Caecina. — **leviter**: as a matter of fact, it was an exceedingly bitter pamphlet.

10. **persona**: not "person," but referring to the official position as party leader. — **Cassium**: C. Cassius Longinus, the later conspirator. He had joined Caesar after Pharsalus. — **Brutum**: D. Iunius Brutus. — **Sulpicium**: Ser. Sulpicius Rufus. — **Marcellum**: M. Claudius Marcellus.

11. **condemnati**: those who had been sentenced under a law of Pompey, *De Ambitu*.

12. This is written in a semi-jocular vein, for the paragraph gives a topical outline of a branch of rhetorics, the so-called *Epicedia* or *Consolationes*.

13. **amplectitur**: the personal relations had been restored since the speech of thanksgiving for the pardon of Marcellus.

CXVIII. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus was a friend and, at first, an oratorical rival of Cicero. Later on he became the leading jurist of Rome. As the colleague of M. Claudius Marcellus in 51 he opposed the violent anti-Caesarian measures of his colleague. After the outbreak of the war, he tried at first to remain neutral, but finally left the Pompeian party altogether. Dissatisfied with the political conditions, he left Rome for Greece, until Caesar made him governor of Achaia, in 46. He seems to have considered this office as a kind of honorable exile.

This letter deals for the most part with the history of the pardon of Marcellus, and Cicero's speech on that occasion should be read in connection with it.

1. **uno exemplo**: several of Sulpicius's letters had not reached their destination, and Servius had omitted to send duplicate copies, which was the custom. So he was compelled to repeat in subsequent letters what he had said, and jokingly excuses this fact with his oratorical inability. — *εἰρωνεύεσθαι*: to be ironical, of assumed mock modesty; and so *εἰρωνευόμενος*, without being sarcastic. — **subtilitati**: conciseness (Tyrrell).

2. **hoc negotium**: the governorship; see introductory note. — **tu quidem**: *quidem* is often placed next to a pronoun, even though it really emphasizes another word; here *vacuus*.

3. **iure**: constitution, as *Fam. VI, 1, 5*. — **acerbitate, aequitate**: referring to the different attitude of the two men in 51. — **ne ominis quidem causa**: these words find their explanation in *Pro Marcello*, 21, *nunc venio ad gravissimam querelam et atrocissimam suspicionem tuam*, etc. Caesar had hinted at plots of assassins. The clemency shown to so bitter an enemy as Marcellus might be interpreted as weakness and thus encourage conspirators. — **L. Pisone**: Calpurnius P., Caesar's father-in-law. — **C. Marcellus**: cousin of Marcellus. — **reviviscentis**: see *Marc. 3*, *te dignitatem rei publicae tuis doloribus anteferre*.

4. **Volcacium**: L. V. Tullus, consul 66. He declared he would not have pardoned Marcellus, if he were Caesar. — **eo loco**: in Caesar's place. — **tacere**: see *Marc. 1*. — **philosophia**: almost all of his philosophical writings fall in this period. — **ad prudentiam**: toward; *maturitate* denotes here the process, not the result.

5. **noctes**: as the streets were unlighted, public and business life ceased with sunset. Since this letter was written in the fall,

Cicero means that the earlier close of business will give Sulpicius a better chance for study. — **Servius**: Sulpicius's son.

CXIX. The answer of Marcellus to a letter of Cicero, informing him of his pardon and advising his acceptance.

1. **potes existimare**: a sentence of a certain looseness. One expects him to state from what Cicero can form his opinion. This is really given in the next sentence, which ought to have been connected with the first. — **tuis litteris**: lost. — **ab animo**: an ablative of source, not of agent. — **paucitate**: he was not on good terms with his family.

2. **carebam**: the indicative, although the clause is really consecutive. The shading of the meaning is, "I could — and did — do without." — **hoc vero**: namely, Cicero's true affection. — **in hoc**: instead of the usual accusative of the inner object.

CXX. On Ligarius see introductory note to *Fam.* VI, 13. As to the date of the letter, one must remember that this was the year of the reform of the calendar, the so-called *annus confusionis*. The Roman calendar was originally of a lunar character. Through the mismanagement of the pontiffs it had become so completely demoralized, that a reform was absolutely necessary. Caesar undertook this by adopting the Egyptian solar calendar. It was necessary to insert, beside the regular leap month of twenty-three days, another sixty-seven days. These fell between old November and December, and the letter was written on September 23 of the new style.

1. **nam si quisquam**: therefore his comforting news must carry all the greater weight.

2. **adeundi**: used transitively, as regularly in this meaning. The *indignitas* and *molestia* consisted in this, that Caesar made these men, who officially and socially were his equals, cool their heels in his antechamber, as appears from *Att.* XIV, 1, 2: *cum apud eum fuissem expectareque sedens, quoad vocarer*.

CXXI. See the introductory note to *Fam.* IV, 4.

1. **quodam**: on the force of this word with an adjective see G. 313, R. 1. — **meum**: *my case*. — **traxerit**: partial obliquity; *claims to have*. — **denuntiante**: as consul in 51 Sulpicius had warned the Senate of the consequences of a break with Caesar. — **afui**: in Cilicia. — **quae meminissent**: accusative, because many senators had been eye-witnesses of the Sullan horrors. —

oppressisset: secondary dependence in *O.O.* for original future perfect. — **atque adeo**: *nay, even*.

2. **doctrinarum**: plural = branches of.

4. **illi arti**: eloquence. — **scientiae**: jurisprudence. — **appareat**: potential.

CXXII. For Paetus see introductory note to *Fam.* IX, 16.

1. **Zetho, Phileros**: Greek slave names. — **reapse**: a survival in colloquial language of the time when the first part of *ipse* (*is*) was still declinable; *re eapse* = *re ipsa*.

2. **Attici**: the Athenians were famous for their wit; cp. *De Oratore*, II, 217, *praeter ceteros Attici excellunt*. — **Romani veteres**: Cicero preferred the old native humor. — **o'blitas**: from *oblinere*. — **Latio**: in contrast to *urbani sales*, above; hence with the connotation of rusticity. — **peregrinitas**: collective abstract for *peregrini*. Cicero refers to the *lex Iulia* of 89, which put an end to the *Bellum Sociale* by giving citizenship to all those *socii* who would surrender within a certain time; cp. *Arch.* 7. — **nunc vero**: Caesar bestowed the citizenship on some of the Transalpine Gauls, and even made some of these men senators. Hence *bracatis*, with long sleeves, which was a characteristic of Transalpine dress. — **Granios**: generalizing plural; men like. Granius was an auctioneer (*praeco*) and wit of the age of the satirist Lucilius, 180–103. — **Crassos**: L. Licinius C., 140–91, orator and statesman, one of the interlocutors in the *De Oratore*. — **Laelios**: C. Laelius, the friend of the younger Scipio, whose name gives the title to Cicero's essay On Friendship. — **vernaculae**: *native*, properly "house-born," from *verna*, a house-born slave. The *vernae* were notorious for their unrespecting wit.

3. **emptionis**: Cicero had desired to purchase the house of Cornelius Sulla in Naples, but Paetus had dissuaded him. — **moderationis**: on account of the unsettled times. Paetus had advised Cicero to keep in touch with politics instead of going into retirement. — **Catulum**: Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul 78, who as chief of the Optimates had stuck to his post in spite of threats and danger. — **narras**: colloquial, for to talk of. — **puppi**: "the ship of state," a simile famous since the poem of Alcaeus.

4. **urgeo forum**: either of trying law suits, or, in a disgruntled tone, "I help swell the crowd on the Forum, while I

should be in the inner circle." — **amatorem**: Caesar, the friend of literary geniuses. The decrees were made in his house, not in the Senate meetings. — **familiarem**: bitter, because in spite of the professed friendship he is not consulted. — **in mentem**: *Caesari*. — **ponor**: the wording of the text of a decree was entrusted to some of the senators, whose names then appeared in the *praescriptio* or preamble. Cicero complains that Caesar uses his name without any authorization.

5. **quid ergo est**: a colloquial formula. — **praefectus moribus**: a title given to Caesar in 46, investing him with the power of the Censors, and thus enabling him to put into effect a series of social reforms. — **aberit**: Caesar intended to go to Spain to finish the fight with the last remnants of the Pompeians. — **fungos**: Paetus, the Epicurean, lived well, and mushrooms were as highly esteemed then as they are now. — **domum**: in Naples; cp. above, § 3, and below. — **sumptuariae legis**: the *lex Iulia sumptuaria* fixed the maximum of daily expenditure for each class. Cicero sneeringly remarks that Caesar's allowance for one day will last him ten. — **cum fabris**: an inspection by experts.

CXXIII. The letter, unimportant in itself, is a very interesting example of the utter abandon with which Cicero and Atticus corresponded. This delightful informality shows not only in the trifles which fill the letter, and in the jesting, but also in the colloquial language, and especially in the very free use of diminutives.

For the dating of the letter see introductory note to *Fam.* VI, 14. The VIII K. intercal. post. corresponds to the modern November 24.

1. **litterularum**: both the diminutive and the partitive genitive stamp the letter as an insignificant "scrawl," a signification emphasized by *exaravi*, a word properly applicable only to waxen tablets (*codicilli*). — **villa**: Arpinum. — **Anagnino**: (*esse*, sc.); Anagnia in Latium. — **ad constitutum**: (*locum*, sc.); he had an appointment with several people for the time of his arrival, see below. — **Atticae**: the little daughter of Atticus, born about 51. — **garriat**: *babbles*, of children's talk. — **Piliae**: the wife of Atticus.

2. **complicarem**: fold up, bind together, of the linen cord fastening a letter. — **noctuabundus**: a word probably coined by

Cicero and found nowhere else. Adjectives in *-bundus* can properly be formed only from verbs, but no *noctuare* is known to exist. Its meaning would be "act the night owl," hence "stay awake all night"; *noctuabundus*, "travelling all night." — **febricula**: *slight fever*. — **igniculus**: another diminutive. Cicero had asked Atticus to have a fire lighted in the chilly mornings, and Atticus had taunted him that this was a sign of approaching age. Cicero retorts with the teasing remark that loss of memory (*memoriola* = poor old memory) was a still surer sign of that. Atticus had forgotten the date of his appointment with Cicero. — **hoc habebis**: an expression taken from the arena; *take that*. — **garrimus**: here applied to the wandering, aimless talk of two intimate friends. — **buccam**: (*venit*, sc.); *bucca*, the vulgar expression for mouth, is, characteristic enough, the only word surviving in the Romance languages (*bouche*, *bocca*). — **est quiddam** λέσχη: *there is something to a chat*.

CXXIV. For Caecina see introductory note to *Fam.* VI, 6.

1. **praefinitas**: as the date on which he had to leave Sicily. — **Balbus et Oppius**: left behind as Caesar's representatives during his absence in Spain. — **rata**: approved.

2. **quid sim**: accusative of specification. — **Asiaticae**: Caecina had business interests in Asia which he might attend to during his exile. — **magno opere**: *by all means*.

3. **Furfanio**: he was proconsul of Sicily for 45. — **exemplum**: *copy*.

CXXV. For Furfanius see to *Fam.* VI, 8, 3.

1. **Tanta familiaritas**: see to *Fam.* VI, 6.

2. **bonorum**: the republicans; a proud expression in these circumstances. — **tantus . . . quanti**: a somewhat strained expression; may the increase in your good will toward Caecina be corresponding to your appreciation of myself. But *quanti* is neuter, genitive of value.

CXXVI. Caecina's reply to *Fam.* VI, 8. Cicero had expressed the desire to receive a copy of the *Liber Querelarum* (*Fam.* VI, 6), but for the reasons discussed in this plaintive letter the book had not yet reached him.

1. **exisset**: for the future perfect of direct discourse. — **inepte**: because it would be the second time that his literary activity had harmed him. — **fama**: ablative. — **male dixi**: to

defame an opponent in war would not be a crime, according to ancient customs; cp. the Homeric heroes.

2. **Victoriae**: dative, victory personified. — **de alia re**: one would expect *pro*, but the language of Caecina has also other individual differences. — **felix est**: subject, Caesar; he is "well off," with the connotation "rather stupid"; cp. the French *honnête*. — **persuasus est**: another peculiarity of Caecina, perhaps under the influence of his occupation with Greek poetry; G. 217, N. 1. — **multa**: G. 332, 333.

3. **causa**: the real reason why he hesitated to publish the book was the fear to offend Caesar, discussed in § 4. He prefaces this excuse, however, with an *argumentum ad hominem*; he had been very cautious in praising his friend for fear that he might thereby offend the ruler; how much more anxious ought he not to be in discussing Caesar himself? — **revocans**: with self-restraint; *refugiens*, with absolute fear. — **liberum, incitatum, elatum**: terms of rhetorics. — **solutum**: *easy*; **impeditum, difficult**. — **petulantiam**: *bullying* (Tyrrell). — **nescio an**: *I am inclined to think*, G. 457, 2. — **acciderit**: namely that I refrained from praising you. — **erat**: Graecism; it is possible. — **beneficium**: predicate to *facere*. — **me sustinui**: *held myself in check*; probably also a Graecism. — **tum . . . tum**: G. 482, 1. — **auribus**: an interesting testimony for the custom of reading aloud.

4. **totum**: masculine. — **loquitur**: *animus* is the subject. — **Oratore**: the Orator, written 46, after Cicero had written his Praise of Cato. The reference is to § 35, *haec sum aggressus statim Catone absoluto; quem numquam attigissem tempora timens inimica virtuti, nisi tibi hortanti non parere nefas duxissem*. — **patronus**: flattering allusion to Cicero's boast that he was above all a defender, not an accuser. — **veterem**: referring to Cicero's speech *Pro Caecina*, father of the writer. — **suum**: referring not to the grammatical, but to the logical subject, viz. the writer. **expertus es**: — one expects *tu*, in order to bring out the contrast between Cicero and Caecina. — **legeret**: subjunctive for imperative in *O.O.*

5. **Asiatico**: see to *Fam.* VI, 8, 2. — **necessitas**: he wanted to collect money. — **ad eius omnes**: a rather peculiar use of the preposition instead of *apud*, the usual word with persons, especially since he had just used *apud*.

6. **ut facies**: appositive to *hoc*, with which *solum* must be understood.

CXXVII. A. Manlius Torquatus, of one of the noblest Roman patrician families, and of a very noble character, had been fighting on the side of Pompey, and was now living in exile at Athens. He was confronted by a peculiar dilemma. At the moment Caesar was fighting with the last remnants of the Pompeian party in Spain. Should he be defeated, Torquatus could return to Rome. But should he in the meanwhile accept the proffered pardon, he would be treated by his friends as a renegade. On the other hand, should Caesar be victorious, then the non-acceptance of the pardon would call down upon him the anger of the dictator.

1. **nam etsi**: contrast with this sentiment the opinion expressed in a letter to Marcellus, *Fam.* IV, 9, 1; also IV, 7, 4. — **audiunt**: (*merely*) *hear*. — **proprio**: *private, special*.

2. **is qui**: Caesar. Notice the Litotes. — **is ipse**: Sextus Pompeius. — **rationem**: literally, *reckoning*; hence *assurance*. — **ab altera**: the first expression refers to Caesar, the second to the Pompeians. — **quasi**: *to a certain extent*, for in reality it is not a consolation; G. 602, N. 2. — **docti viri**: especially the Stoics.

4. **cadere animis**: *be cast down* (Tyrrell). — **praestandum**: *to take the responsibility for*.

5. **excitare**: Torquatus had urged Cicero to join Pompey. — **sed tu**: harkens back to *excitare*.

6. **aliqua r. p.**: ablative absolute, representing a protasis. — **urbe ea**: Athens, the home of philosophy, and especially ethics. — **alta**: from *alere*. — **Sulpicium**: see note to *Fam.* IV, 4. — **togati, armati**: genitives, referring to Caesar. For the facts see note to *Fam.* IV, 4.

7. **maiora**: of greater personal importance, namely to the question of the pardon. — **debebam**: he refers to Pompey and Lentulus, to whom he owed his recall. — **qui sim**: namely, how powerless. — **aliud**: G. 332.

CXXVIII. On Fadus see introductory note to *Fam.* VII, 23.

1. **ex intestinis**: the seat of an illness is regularly denoted by this preposition. — **Epicurum tuum**: Gallus was an Epicurean. — **male accipiunt**: treat him badly, cavil at him, by misinterpretation. — **σπαραγγουρικά**: *bladder and bowel troubles*. —

alterum: chiasitic arrangement. — **edacitatis**: genitive of source. — *δυσεντερία*: *dysentery*.

2. lex sumptuaria: see to *Fam.* IX, 15, 5. — *λιτότητα*: *plain living* (Tyrrell). — **isti lauti**: *those gourmands*. — **cena augurali**: the priestly banquets were notorious for their luxury. — **Lentulum**: unknown. Lentulus Spinther was made augur in 57, but the letter cannot refer to this date, because at that time the Tusculanum lay still in ruins; O. E. Schmidt, *Briefwechsel*, 261. — **Anicio**: C. Anicius, a friend of Cicero, of senatorial rank.

CXXIX. The letter belongs to the many commendatory notes which Cicero wrote. Insignificant in itself, it shows the vein of gratitude which characterizes the man. It is addressed to Sulpicius, proconsul of Achaia.

Larisaeus: from Larisa in Thessaly.

CXXX. A letter to Dolabella, the husband of Tullia, bespeaking his good offices for two municipals who had been drawn into the maelstrom of the Civil War. While unimportant in itself, it serves well to show the terrible havoc which the war brought to the innocent people of the middle classes, of whom we hear so little in history.

1. Calenus: from Cales, a small town in Campania, famous for its cheap pottery of beautiful red clay. — **Leptae**: Cicero's former *praefectus fabrum*. — **M. Varrone**: Terentius Varro, the scholar. For his part during the Civil War see *Fam.* IX, 1. — **Afranium**: the legate of Pompey, who had been defeated by Caesar in 49. — **Scapula**: an officer who gathered the last remnants of the Pompeians in Spain, and was joined by Sextus Pompeius, the son of Magnus.

2. laboret: he seems to have invested money with the two men and stood in danger of losing it through the confiscation of their property.

3. calamitosos: an euphemistic expression for the loss of the citizen's rights.

4. obest: it can do no harm. Cicero knew the greed of his son-in-law only too well, and wished to inform him by this passage that the persecution of the two would not pay him.

CXXXI. A letter commending a Greek poetaster to Caesar during the last Spanish campaign.

1. P. Crassum: son of the triumvir. He had distinguished

himself in Gaul while serving as legatus to Caesar (*B.G.* I, 52; III, 20 foll.). He was killed with his father in the battle of Carthage, 53; cp. *eximiis iudiciis*, below.

2. in *Alexandrino bello*: the siege in Alexandria, 48.

3. *Hispaniam*: whither Caesar had gone in November, 46. — *non quin* = *non quo non*, introducing a rejected reason; *G.* 541, N. 2.

4. *Diodoto*: Cicero first heard the lectures of this man in 88; he died in 59. — *Graecis*: probably in verse; cp. *doctum hominem* above, which is the regular attribute of the poets of the Alexandrian school. As to the esteem in which Greek poetry was held in comparison with Latin see *Arch.* 23.

CXXXII. Some client of Cicero's friend Lepta, his former *praefectus fabrum*, had been refused admission to the *decurionatus*, the body of city aldermen in the municipal towns, because he had been an auctioneer; for certain trades and professions, such as undertakers, butchers, etc., were barred from this honor by the fundamental charter for all *municipia* published by Caesar, and known as the *Lex Iulia Municipalis* (Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani*). Cicero, at the request of his friend, had asked Caesar's representative Balbus for an authoritative ruling on the question.

1. *Seleuco*: Lepta's slave and the bearer of his letter. — *codicillos*: waxen tablets, used for hasty notes. — *erat ferendum*: Caesar filled the ranks of the depleted Senate from among his followers without much regard to former dignity. Among the men thus honored were a number of Etruscans, to whom Cicero sarcastically refers as *haruspices*. The freedom with which Cicero speaks of these acts of the dictator shows how secure from oppression he felt himself at the moment.

2. *Hispaniis*: on March 17 Caesar defeated the last Pompeians at Munda. This letter reflects the rumors current shortly before the decision among the adherents of the old régime. — *Paciaeci*: he was a Spaniard; cp. *B.H.* 3, 4. — *Messalla*: M. Valerius M., consul 53.

3. *sponsor*: bondsman. — *Galba*: Servius Sulpicius G. had been legatus to Caesar in Gaul. Later on he became estranged from him and publicly taunted the dictator with the sale of the property of Pompey.

4. **Oratorem**: the *Orator sive Brutus*, a history of Roman eloquence, had just been published, and Cicero considered it his best work. **Lepta** evidently had highly complimented the author. — **Leptam**: the son of his correspondent.

5. **Tulliae partus**: she had just become a mother, although she had already been divorced from the worthless Dolabella. Hence *primam pensionem*, the first instalment of the dowry which Dolabella had to repay after the divorce. — **aedificia**: the joyous, contented tone of this letter is very remarkable, when compared with the constant complaints of *nulla res publica* of others of this time. It is perhaps due to the fact that Lepta was an adherent of Caesar. It becomes tragical irony, if we realize that only a few weeks later the crushing blow of Tullia's death was to fall on the unhappy father. — **litterae**: his literary studies. — **Hesiodum**: the "Works and Days" of this old Greek poet was used as a text-book. The reference is to l. 289, *the immortal gods placed the sweat of the brow before the attainment of excellence*.

CXXXIII. In February, 45, Tullia died on her father's Tusculanum, from the consequences of childbirth. In deep sorrow Cicero completely retired from public life to the island of Astura, near Circeii. Some of the many letters of condolence written to him by his friends still remain in the correspondence. The one given here is easily the most famous among them, both for sincerity of tone and nobility of sentiment.

1. **renuntiatum**: like *epistulam reddere*, "duly deliver a letter," so here "duly inform." — **filiae**: this strikes the right key. Sulpicius writes because he feels with the father. — **sane quam**: *very much*, colloquial. — **eo ac**: instead of the usual *eo ut*; thus *Cat. IV, 3, pro eo ac mereor*. — **graviter molesteque**: this pleonasm or, as it has been called, "libration," is a characteristic of the Asianic style in oratory, of which Sulpicius was fond. It is not unknown to Cicero himself. Other examples in this letter are: *istic adfuissem* (1), *propterea quia* (1), *sufferre et perpeti* (3), *prostrata et diruta* (4), *interiit aut occisus est* (4), *animum ac cogitationem* (5), *minuat ac molliat* (6), *amicis ac familiaribus* (6). Other indications of this style are Alliteration: *communem calamitatem* (1), *tanto te tuus* (2), *aliquo adulescente* (3), *tuos te tuto* (3), *traditam tenere* (3), *coepi circumcirca* (4), *coepi cogitare*

(4), *crede, cogitatione, confirmatus* (4), *tempore tot* (4), *prope perfunctam* (5), *malos medicos* (5), *atque apud animum* (5), *tempus tibi turpe* (6), *ferre fortunam* (7); Homoeoteleuton: *adfuisssem . . . defuisssem* (1), *decrevi . . . brevi* (1), *quae res . . . quae spes* (3), *vixisse . . . fuissse . . . vidisse . . . fuissse . . . excessisse* (5). — **consolationis**: epexegetical genitive; G. 361, 2. — **confieri**: colloquial archaism, G. 173, N. 2. — **perspicias**: the mood of the *sed-quod*-clause is regularly indicative (G. 541), but is here influenced by *forsitan*.

2. Your personal loss is small compared with the loss of our liberty. — **commoveat**: *quid est quod* is an archaic construction; its regular mood is the indicative. — **existimare**: rare for *aestimare*.

3. Tullia is well off, because she has escaped from the general misery. — **incidimus**: a slight anacoluthon, as one expects the subjunctive after *necesse est*. — **licitum est**: colloquial for *licuit*, which is literary. — **quae res . . . solacium**: the words have a rhythmical, almost poetical, cadence, another characteristic of the *genus Asianum*; see Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, 126, 270. — **liberos**: plural, though referring to Tullia only. — **ordinatim**: unclassical; *in due order*, referring to the *Cursus Honorum*. — **nisi**: G. 591, R. 2.

4. A digression; the example of Greece. — **attulit**: the indicative is a colloquial archaism. — **si possit**: because the sentence implies trial; G. 460, b. — **circumcirca**: an adverb used as attribute to a noun; G. 439, N. 4. — **Aegina**, destroyed by pirates about the end of the fourth century; **Megara**, destroyed by Demetrius Poliorcetes, 307; **Piraeus**, destroyed by Sulla, 86; **Corinthus**, destroyed by Mummius, 146. — **diruta**: quite literally. From *Fam.* IV, 12 it appears that at this time travelers had to pitch tents in Piraeus while waiting for embarkation. — **homunculi**: *insignificant individuals*. — **visne**: G. 454, R. 2. — **uno tempore**: at Pharsalus, 48. — **imperio**: the emphasis rests on *populi*; the power of the people, not the extent of the empire, had dwindled. — **mulierculae**: the diminutive seems somewhat heartless. But its use is intentional, to minimize the private loss as compared with the public disaster. — **animula**: cp. the famous lines composed by Emperor Hadrian on his deathbed, *animula vagula, blandula*, etc. — **diem**: archaism for the classical *mortem*. — **fuit**: G. 597, R. 3 a.

5. Tullia's life was happy, and you are a philosopher. — *adulescentibus*: she had* had three husbands. — *nomine*: account, a bookkeeping term. — *subiace*: for the ordinary *subice*.

6. Time is the all-powerful healer. — *qui illius* = *is enim*; G. 626. — *hoc certe*: for the sentiment compare similar statements, forbidding excessive grief, on tombstones and in Propertius and Tibullus. — *apisci*: archaic for *adipisci*. — *aliquando*: with a slight reproof, recalling his weakness during his exile, and thus goading him on to manliness.

CXXXIV. The reply to the preceding letter.

1. *Ego vero*: the abruptness with which Cicero begins shows how deeply he was affected by Sulpicius's letter. He remembers the regret of his friend not to have been present more than anything else. — *potueris*: instead of *potuisses*, because of the sequence of tenses. — *Servius*: the son of his friend. — *Maximus*: Q. Fabius M. Cunctator, the hero of the Hannibalic War, lost his son (consul 213) during this war. — *Paullus*: L. Aemilius P., the victor in the war with Perseus (168), lost two sons just at the time of his triumph. — *Galus*: C. Sulpicius G., consul 166; he is called *vester*, because he belonged to the *gens Sulpicia*. — *Cato*: M. Porcius C. Censorius; his son died in 153, when praetor elect. The enumeration appears somewhat studied, but it belongs to the standard topics of a *Consolatio*, and was thus used repeatedly by Cicero, as in the *Laelius* (9), and the *Disputationes Tusculanae* (III, 70). Cicero was at this time contemplating the writing of a *Consolatio ad ipsum*.

2. *ornamentis*: his official honors went for naught under a monarch. — *solacium*: the converse with Tullia. — *impediebantur*: were not diverted. — *cuius*: Tullia's.

3. *adventum*: from Greece. — *ante*: before Caesar's expected return from Spain. The resigned tone of the closing paragraph shows how broken spirited Cicero really was, even though he might pretend to be consoled.

CXXXV. An answer to a letter of condolence which Dolabella, the last husband of Tullia, had sent Cicero upon hearing of his former wife's death. Dolabella was at this time with Caesar in Spain. It is significant of the light treatment of the marriage tie that prevailed among the higher classes in Rome, that Cicero,

who loved his daughter so dearly, can write with such ease to a man who had made her life so unhappy.

1. **eo casu**: Tullia's death. — **opinio nostra**: the general expectation of Caesar's immediate return.

2. **proelia**: the younger Quintus, Cicero's nephew, was in Caesar's suite in Spain and was attacking his uncle most bitterly for his stand during the Civil War.

CXXXVI. This is a reply to a letter by Luceius (*Fam.* V, 14) written after Tullia's death, in which Luceius had urged his friend to seek consolation in Rome instead of burying himself in the country.

1. **iucundus**: he does not want to use this word, because of its connection with joy. — **unam causam**: the death. — **remedia**: see *Fam.* IV, 6.

2. **vetustas**: not old age, but old friendship. — **possumusne**: G. 454, 2. — **cum forum**: a remark characteristic of the outdoor features of ancient city life, in which much social intercourse was carried on in the market-place.

3. **litterae**: an allusion to his almost feverish activity during this period. — **maneam**: he seems to have been reading Stoic discussions about the permissibility of suicide. He judged differently, from another point of view, in the *Cato Maior*, where he quotes the saying of Pythagoras that man, like a sentinel, must not desert the post to which he has been assigned by God. — **domus**: not only was Tullia dead, but he was about to divorce Publilia, his second wife.

5. **valetudo**: cp. the beginning of *Fam.* V, 14: *ego valeo, sicut soleo, paululo tamen deterius quam soleo.*

CXXXVII. After Tullia's death Cicero planned a monument worthy of their mutual affection. After much discussion pro and contra, he determined to erect a sanctuary to her (*Att.* XII, 35, 2).

1. **fanum**: in contrast to a tomb. — **poenam legis**: a law, of uncertain date, provided for a fine when the cost of sepulchers exceeded a certain amount. — ἀποθέωσιν: a remarkable expression in Cicero's mouth. It is furthermore noteworthy on account of the attitude toward the dead which is here revealed. Such apotheoses were frequent in Greece since a comparatively early date, but they did not occur in Rome until imperial times.

Cicero was the first Roman to attempt such an apotheosis, probably only as a matter of sentiment, as legally he could make a place only *religiosus*, but not *sacer*, and places dedicated to the gods had to undergo consecration. — *villa*: Tusculum, where Tullia had died. — *commutationes*: a new owner need not respect the religious character of the spot, since the consecration was illegal. — *res, locus, institutum*: *plan, place, drawings*. — *legem*: the law referred to above, limiting the expense.

2. *Brutum*: D. Iunius B. — *rustice*: in contrast to *urbane*; *impolite*. — *Cluatium*: the architect of the intended *fanum*. — *villam*: some place near Rome.

CXXXVIII. On his return journey from Mytilene Marcellus fell by the hand of the assassin. This letter contains the detailed narrative of the event, written by Sulpicius, then governor of Greece, and friend and colleague of the deceased nobleman. In its clear, forcible style it betrays the logical mind which made its writer the foremost jurist of his age.

1. *non iucundissimum*: Litotes. — *casus*: where there is free will; *natura*, where the necessity of natural laws rules; the two form one idea, covering all acts and happenings of our lives, hence *dominatur*, singular. — *facere*: the infinitive instead of a substantive *ut*-clause, as if directly dependent on *visum est*. — *collegam*: either as augur (so that *nostrum* includes Cicero), or because Marcellus and Sulpicius were together the consuls of 51. — *iuris dictionem*: the governors traveled circuit. — *supra*: "around"; the usual preposition in this connection is *super*. The passage around Cape Malea was, and is, ill famed for its storminess.

2. *ipsum*: subject of *interfecisse*. — *puer*: the usual appellation for slaves. — *Acidini*: a member of the *gens Manlia* who was at the time a student in Athens. — *homine . . . morte*: Chiasmus. — *inimici*: Caesar. — *tabernaculum*: the Piraeus lay in ruins and travelers had to pitch their own tents.

3. *perterritos*: on account of the Roman law, which in such case condemned them to death. — *copia*: Athens was poor. — *dicerent*: mood of partial obliquity. — *neque tamen*: an aside of the writer, implying that the mere assertion of the Athenians would not bear sufficient weight. — *gymnasio*: these were outside the city. — *orbi*: locative case; G. 37, 5. — *Academiae*:

where Plato had taught. For the case see G. 361, n. 1. — **curavimus**: in spite of their poverty the Athenians were laid under contribution for the tomb. They paid for the honor of being Roman subjects. Compare the similar sentiment, *Arch.* 23, *ipsis populis de quorum rebus* (their defeat by Rome) *scribitur, haec ampla sunt*.

CXXXIX. The letter tells of a visit paid by Caesar, accompanied by his body guard, to Cicero. It goes far toward explaining the motives which led the mild orator to sympathize so heartily with the deed of the conspirators, since it reveals to us the dictator's changed attitude in regard to his former republican simplicity and his gradual adoption of monarchical pomp.

1. ἀμεταμέλητον: *without cause for regret*. The word is predicate accusative with *esse* understood, and the whole construction is exclamatory. — **fuit**: subject *hospes*. — **sed**: no contrast, but marking the return to the main topic. — **Saturnalibus**: this festival of general merry-making began on December 17. — **Philippum**: L. Marcius P., stepfather of Octavianus. — **postridie**: the day for which Caesar had announced himself. — **Cassius**: a friend of Caesar's; he kept the soldiers out from the villa proper. — **castra**: ironical, since it is unimaginable that the men would build a regular fortified camp during a peaceful visit; and so *defensa*. — **Balbo**: the Spaniard, who looked after Caesar's finances. — **in balneum**: evidently at Cicero's house. — **Mamurra**: he had been with Caesar during his Gallic campaigns. The news probably referred to his death. — ἑμετικήν: *he was under an emetic treatment*. The Romans frequently took emetics as a matter of precaution to ward off the possible consequences of dietetic excesses. — ἀδεῶς: *without apprehension*. — **bene cocto**, etc.: a quotation from the satirist Lucilius; the meter is dactylic. — **condito**: from *condire*. — **quaeris**: in the older language final *s* was often unpronounced.

2. οἱ περὶ αὐτόν: *his suite*. — **tribus tricliniis**: the higher *liberti* in one, the lower in the second, the slaves in the third. The observance of social precedence is noteworthy. Cicero's villa must have been more than merely modest to have four dining rooms. — **homines**: ordinary mortals, not persons of the highest rank. — **amabo te**: *if you please*, a polite phrase. — **eodem**: (*modo sc.*). — Σπουδαῖον οὐδέν: *nothing exciting, i.e. no discussion of*

politics. — *φιλόλογα*: *learned discourse*, on literature, philosophy, etc. — *libenter*: see the quotation above. — *ἐπισταθμίαν*: *billeting*, a military term. — *ad equum*: (*Caesaris* sc.). This military evolution was meant as an honor to Cicero's son-in-law. — *Nicia*: a friend of both Cicero and Dolabella. The style of the letter with its many ellipses is abrupt. This, however, is not due to any excitement on the part of the writer, but because he is writing to his most intimate friend, and therefore with absolute abandon. The many colloquial ellipses give the note a decidedly modern character.

CXL. The letter is a reply to a request from Curius, the banker and friend of both Cicero and Atticus in Patrae (see on him the series of the Tiro letters in *Fam.* XVI) for a recommendation to the successor of Sulpicius in the governorship of Greece.

1. *iam*: as he had done in other letters. — *ubi nec*: a quotation from the tragedy *Pelops* of Accius. — *ne*: asseveration. — *campo*: the Marsfield, where the elections took place. After his return from Spain, Caesar, although dictator *perpetuus* and consul *sine collega*, had had Q. Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius elected consuls for the remainder of the year. In the morning of December 31, Fabius died, and in spite of the few remaining hours of the term of office, C. Caninius Rebilus was elected *consul suffectus*, a proceeding which gives Cicero his opportunity for some of the most biting remarks. — *quaestoriis*: the *comitia* were often called after the officers whom they were called to elect. — *dicebant*: because *de facto* Caesar was the chief magistrate. — *sella*: the curule chair, the official seat of the presiding magistrate. — *ille*: Caesar. — *tributis*: the quaestors were elected by the *comitia tributa*, the consuls by the *comitia centuriata*. In taking the auspices for an election the gods were solemnly informed of the purpose for which it was called. Simply to shift the purpose, without taking new auspices, was, therefore, a violation of the canon law, and against this Cicero, the augur, rebels.

2. *philosophiae portum*: the essays *De Consolatione*, *De Finibus*, *Academica*, fall in this time. — *mancipio*, *nexo*, *usu*, *fructu*: these are terms of commercial law, used by Curius in the letter to which this one is the answer. *Mancipium* is the conveying of property in solemn form (*per aes et libram*); *nexum* is a bond or agreement, which, when carried out becomes *mancipium*. *Usus*

fructus is the enjoyment of property rights without such contract, the modern *usufruct*.

3. **Acilius**: M. A. Caninus, one of Caesar's *legati* in Gaul, was now on his way East with the soldiers for the intended Parthian War. — **beneficio**: an unusual ablative of quality.

CXLI. A brief line written evidently immediately after the assassination of Caesar. L. Minucius Basilus had been praetor in 45, but had joined the conspirators because he felt slighted by Caesar in the allotment of the provinces.

CXLII. This letter, which does not properly belong to the correspondence of Cicero, was written by D. Iunius Brutus to M. Iunius Brutus and C. Cassius Longinus, on the 17th of March, probably early in the morning, before the Senate meeting which granted to the *liberatores* the official pardon.

1. **Hirtius**: a legatus of Caesar; in 43 he was one of the consuls and fell at Mutina. — **provinciam**: Brutus had been designated by Caesar as governor of Gallia Cisalpina. The appointment was ratified the following day. — **iis**: Caesar's partizans.

2. **placitum est**: colloquial for *placuit*; cp. *licitum est*, *Fam.* IV, 5, 3. — **legationem liberam**: a semiofficial appointment, giving postal and other privileges. — **hostes**: official enemies of the state. — **aqua**, etc.: the official formula by which exile was decreed.

3. **locus**: a gladiatorial term; cp. *loco motus est*, *Cat.* II, 1. — **novissima auxilia**: desperate measures; so *novissimum tempus* in § 4, *desperate crisis*.

4. **succurret** = *occurret*. — **Sex. Pompeium**: the son of the great Pompey. At this time he was in Spain among the Lacetani, as the head of a band of guerrillas. — **Bassum**: in Syria; see note to *Fam.* XII, 18, 1. — **hoc nuntio**: of the assassination. — **satis tempore**: *tempore*, less frequent than *in tempore* (G. 394, R.) is felt as an adverb, and can therefore be modified by an adverb of degree; G. 439, N. 2. — **recipere**: *give pledges*.

5. **rebus**: the *legatio libera*.

6. This is a postscript, after Hirtius had communicated with him. — **publico praesidio**: an official guard, to guarantee their personal safety. — **magnam invidiam**: make them unpopular.

CXLIII. A demagogue named Herophilus had had an altar set up on the spot where Caesar's body had been burned. Although the man was executed, the altar remained and a column

was also set up there. Dolabella, who was consul, caused both to be removed and the erectors to be put to death. In this letter Cicero thanks his former son-in-law for his patriotic deed. The caressing superscription and the warm tone of the letter, so different from Cicero's true feelings toward the man who had made Tullia's last years miserable, are due to political considerations. He wanted to detach Dolabella definitely from the Caesarians. In this he failed, as Dolabella simply followed the highest bidder.

1. **valetudinis causa**: Pompeii is near Baiae.

2. **omnis** = *tota*. — **Agamemnoni**: Hom. *Il.* II, 371; *O, that I had more counselors like you, old man*. — **regum regi**: a peculiar expression, with a certain Oriental flavor. Cicero probably has in mind that A. was the leader of the other Basi-leans. — **iuvenem**: Dolabella was only twenty-five.

3. **L. Caesar**: maternal uncle of Antony. — **de facto**: see introductory note.

4. **hereditatem cernere**: a legal term; to signify one's acceptance of a legacy.

6. **proponam**: deliberative. — **solent**: a common topic of such speeches was the examples of *virii illustres*. Cicero himself uses this topic frequently in the Catilinarian speeches.

7. **invidiosa**: for this sentiment, cp. *Cat.* I, 28. — **contionem**: the speech in which Dolabella had advocated the punishment. — **accessus, recessus, concessu**: a play upon words, such as Cicero loved. Cicero means that Dolabella had handled very deftly the difficult topic of a Caesarian advocating the destruction of a monument to Caesar. In reality Dolabella had done so in order to keep open his retreat to the Caesarians.

8. **exemplum**: for a precedent.

CXLIV. C. Cassius Longinus first came into public notice when, after Crassus's death at Carrhae, he, as quaestor, defended Syria against the Parthians. After Pharsalus he joined Caesar, but became the moving spirit of the conspiracy. When Antony appeared on the scene, he left for Syria.

1. **Bruto**: M. Iunius B. — **Dolabella**: see *Fam.* IX, 14. — **primum quicque**: *each first one*, everything in order. — **regios nutus**: because Antony based his proposals on alleged (*quasi cogitata*, below) intentions of Caesar. Compare the repeated assertion of this fact in the *Philippicae*. — **figuntur**: laws

were engraved on bronze tablets and these were fastened up in public places. For this whole passage, cp. *Phil.* II (*toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur, neque solum singulis venibant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis*, 92; *et de exulibus legem, quam fixisti, Caesar tulit?* 98). — **discribuntur**: a bookkeeping term, *allot*; cp. *Phil.* II, 93. — **deferuntur**: into the archive in the *aerarium*; cp. *Phil.* V, 12. — **impuri**: Caesar.

2. **ulta**: cp. *Phil.* II, 113, *res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta est, nondum recipiavit*. — **nihil amplius**: (*est, quam hoc factum se.*). — **at enim**: introducing the refutation of a self-made objection. Cicero had voted to ratify the decrees of Caesar even after his death. — **coram**: because he planned a visit to his son in Athens.

CXLV. C. Trebonius, one of Caesar's *legati* in Gaul, and consul in 45, had joined the conspirators. He was now on his way to his province Asia, where he was murdered the same year by Dolabella. The letter forms an interesting counterpart to what we otherwise know of young Cicero.

1. **optumis studiis**: as to the facts, see *Fam.* XVI, 21. — **auribus dare**: not meant to sink in, mere flattery.

2. **iniecisset**: of a casual remark. — **invitatus, rogatus**: the former of a formal invitation, the latter of an urgent request. — **praestatueros**: for *non dubito* with infinitive, see G. 555, N. — **Cratippus**: a Peripatetic, and the young man's teacher; see *Fam.* XVI, 21, 3.

3. **dictum**: the first *dictum* is a participle, the second a noun; *witticism*. — **conclusi**: (*pedibus se.*), in verse. — **infra**: it is lost. — *εὐθύρρημονέστερος*: *rather too outspoken* (Tyrrell). — **personae**: Antony. — **Lucilio**: the satirist, who did not hesitate to attack the important personages of his age.

4. **sermones**: *dialogues*. — **minimam partem**: on the day of the murder, Trebonius engaged Antony in a conversation.

CXLVI. At dinner some point of law had been discussed between Cicero and Trebatius (see introd. note to *Fam.* VII, 5). Cicero continues the discussion in this hasty note.

1. **furtum**: the question was whether an heir could recover goods stolen before he had actually entered upon the inheritance. — **furti**: genitive of judicial action. — **caput**: a chapter in a law book, perhaps the digest, of Mucius Scaevola, a friend of

Cicero. — **notavi**: *made a note of*. — **Sex. Aelium**: S. A. Paetus, consul 198. — **M'. Manilius**: consul 149. — **M. Brutus**: another authority. — **Scaevola**: consul 133. — **Testae**: Trebatius himself.

CXLVII. M. Brutus and C. Cassius, the praetors of this year, had been commissioned by the Senate to look out for the grain supply of the capital, and had for this purpose been freed from the obligation of an official residence in Rome. Cicero went to Antium to discuss the situation with them. The confusion and indecision of the conspirators during the first months after the murder is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in this faithful report of the meeting.

1. **Antium**: a seaside place, Porto d' Anzo. — **Servilia**: the mother of M. Brutus, a sister of Cato Uticensis. — **Tertulla**: Servilia's daughter from a second marriage, wife of Cassius. — **Porcia**: Cato's daughter, second wife of Brutus. — **Favonius**: an admirer of Cato, and an ardent Pompeian, pardoned by Caesar after Pharsalus. — **curatione**: see introductory note. — **Martem spirare**: a translation from the Greek. — **Siciliam**: it was said that the Senate had given this province to Cassius. He considered this province beneath his dignity. — **ex praetura**: after the expiration of his term. — **tibi**: Atticus.

2. **Decimus**: Brutus, whose lack of energy was much to blame for the confusion after the murder. — **praeterita**: (*queri se.*), let bygones be bygones. — **quemquam**: Antony. It had been the intention of the conspirators to kill the most prominent adherents of Caesar, but M. Brutus had stood out against it. — **familiaris**: Servilia. — **audivi**: (*dicentem se.*). Cicero stopped Servilia before she could finish. — **pollicebatur**: an interesting statement as showing the influence wielded in Roman politics by the *salon* of a clever woman. — **tolleretur**: *expunged*. — **noster**: Brutus. — **ludi**: the *Ludi Apollinares*, which were in charge of the praetor Brutus.

3. ἡ δέειπ' : *O seer, what boots the journey thither now* (Tyrrell); from an unknown comic poet. — **navigium**: the state, under the now well-worn image of a ship. — **ubi nec**: see note to *Fam.* VII, 30, 1.

4. **legavit**: to accompany him to Syria. — **votiva**: a *legatio libera* obtained on the pretext of fulfilling a vow. — **lege Iulia**: a

law limiting the term of a *legatio libera* to one year. Cicero foresaw that the troubles now threatening would occupy more time. — **additum**: because he would have the privilege of a *legatio* under all conditions, but as legate of Dolabella the term of his appointment would last as long as the proconsulship of Dolabella, *i.e.* five years. Furthermore, he was not compelled to set out immediately, nor to stay constantly. — *βλάσφημα*: words of ill omen, a curious superstition in this man.

CXLVIII. Young Quintus, who had joined Caesar and become a bitter enemy of his uncle, determined to make his peace with the republicans. The letter reports this fact to his maternal uncle.

1. Tereo: The *Tereus*, a tragedy by Accius, had been produced during the *ludi Apollinares*, which were in charge of Brutus as praetor. He had been under the impression that the *Brutus* of Accius, dealing with the expulsion of the Tarquins, had been played. — **Graecorum**: the *tragoedia palliata*, taken from Greek models, in contrast to the *togata*, which treated of patriotic subjects. — **fefellit**: *disappointed*.

2. in eoque: his political opinions. — **scriptis**: probably his *De Officiis*.

3. ὁμοπλοία: their common sailing for Greece. — *μετεωρότερον*: somewhat up in the air; *distract* (Tyrrell). — **de ludis**: see above. — **legionibus**: which had been ordered from Macedonia to Italy. — **Hydruntem**: Otranto. — *ἀσφαλές*: *safe*.

4. auspiciis Lepidi: M. Aemilius L., the later triumvir. He was pontifex maximus as successor of Caesar by an illegal election. — *ρῶπή*: *momentum*. — **illic**: (*videamus* sc.).

5. Nepotis: Cornelius Nepos, the biographer. He was a friend of Atticus, but only slightly acquainted with Cicero. — **meorum**: (*scriptorum* sc.). — *γανυῶ*: *I am proud*; referring to Cicero's philosophical writings, for which the dry, matter-of-fact mind of Nepos had small liking. — *μετ' ἀμύμονα*: *after the blameless*, son of Peleus, a quotation from Homer, where Ajax is said to be next to Achilles; *Il.* XVII, 279 f. — *ἄμβροτος*: *immortal*, as a historian, a very exaggerated, and therefore somewhat ironical praise. — *συναγωγή*: *collection*. A very interesting statement, as it shows that the existing collection of his letters was made after the death of Cicero. — **Tiro**: his secretary. — **a te**: Atti-

cus seems to have kept all the letters of his friend, which accounts for the different principle in the arrangement of the letters from those *ad Familiares*; see *Intro.* p. xxxi.

CXLIX. July 17, 44, Cicero had started on his visit to his son at Athens. He landed July 24 in Vibo to visit his old friend Sicca. After a short stay he continued the voyage, but soon repented of his intention and returned to Italy to continue his fight on Antony. This letter, written during his stay with Sicca, hints already at such action.

1. *prodromi*: the north winds, which regularly blow during midsummer. — *pedibus aquis*: a nautical term; *pes* is the rope which we call sheet, hence, with even, taut sheets, before a stiff breeze. — *Veliae*: Elea, on the west coast. — *Regium*: at the strait of Messina. — *δολιχόν*: *starting on a long run*, Hom. *Od.* III, 169. — *Patras*: at the western entrance to the Gulf of Corinth. — *Leucopetras*: the southwest promontory of Italy.

2. *ἡ δ'εὖρ'*: see note to *Att.* XV, 11, 3. — *ocellos*: an allusion to Catullus 31, 1. — *ipsum*: (*periculum*, sc.). — *K. Ian.*: on which day the new consuls, Pansa and Hirtius, would put the political situation before the Senate for discussion.

3. *illud velim*: this passage reveals the financial troubles by which Cicero at all times was more or less besieged. — *nomina*: *accounts*. — *bella*: adjective. — *Cluviano*: M. Cluvius of Puteoli, a rich banker and friend of Cicero, had died in 45, and Cicero was one of his heirs. He had now to satisfy the claims of the other legatees. — *Publilio*: one of his creditors; he had already received one half of his claim; *Att.* XVI, 2, 1. — *Terentiae*: his first wife, with whom he still had to settle. — *quod satisdato debeo*: *bills signed by me*.

4. *De Gloria*: now lost. The passage is very interesting, because it allows us a glimpse into Cicero's literary workshop. — *Academicum*: the third book of the *Academica*, a philosophical essay. — *σύγγραμμα*: *essay*. — *desecabis, adglutinabis*: from the papyrus roll. Such a roll was written in slips, which after completion were pasted together.

CL. C. Matius Calvena was a warm friend of Caesar. He remained loyal to his friend even after the Ides of March, and had been bitterly attacked for this loyalty, even by Cicero. He had complained to Trebatius about this, and in the present

letter Cicero tries, with more skill than sincerity, to make the amende honorable.

1. **Trebatius**: see note to *Fam.* VII, 5. He had become acquainted with Matius during the Gallic War. — **longius fuisse**: time seemed to him too long, because there was nothing of more importance.

2. **vetustas**: of friendship, as *Fam.* V, 15, 2. Matius, however, was much younger than Cicero (84–4). — **obviam venisses**: on the continuation of his journey from Formiæ to Brundisium. Before Matius could reach this town, Caesar was already on his way north. — **Trebulano**: Trebula, a town in Campania.

4. **sive**: with its etymological force (*si velis*); whatever you may call it. — **Brundisium**: after Pharsalus. — **advolaris**, etc.: primary sequence because *oblitum* is present perfect.

5. φιλοσοφούμενα: *De Finibus, Academica, Tusculanae Disputationes*. — **reditum**: from Spain, 45. — **effecerat**: the pluperfect of a condition resulting in the past; G. 241, 3.

7. **illa lege**: an unknown bill, evidently directed against the conspirators, and for which Matius was said to have voted. — **liquido**: colloquial for *plane*. — **curatione ludorum**: at Pharsalus Caesar had vowed games, the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*. After Caesar's death Matius superintended their celebration.

8. **officio**: the *curatio ludorum*.

CLI. Matius's reply to the foregoing letter. In its simple dignity and in its sincere profession of loyalty it is one of the most pleasant letters in the whole correspondence of Cicero, and brings out to perfection the lovable traits in the writer's character.

1. **par**: with ablative, an unusual construction, which occurs, however, sometimes in early Latin.

2. **nota sunt quae contulerint**: the expression is a confusion of *notum est, quae contulerint*, and *nota sunt quae contulerunt*. — **summe**: an unusual form, instead of *summopere*. — **lege Caesaris**: Caesar's law about the repayment of debts by enforced appraisals, a reënactment in 47 of the similar bill of 49, on which see the letter to Paetus, *Fam.* IX, 16, 7. — **remanserunt**: after paying their debts.

3. **invidiae**: incurred by Caesar because he favored them; *exitio*, because they murdered him. — **impunita** = *impune*. — **auctores**: appositive to *isti*.

4. **civili parte**: as a citizen.

5. **oratione**: comparison. — **feri**: subject of *expedire*; right action is advantageous. — **praecipitata**: the sun of his life is setting.

6. **adulescens**: Octavian, called Caesar because he had been adopted by Gaius.

7. **conari**: one expects instead of this the word *interpellare*.

8. **valitura sit**: an unusual sequence; see G. 515, R. 3.

CLII. In 45 young Marcus had left Italy and gone to Athens to study there. His father had given him a very large allowance, about \$4000 a year. The young man used this money for a gay life, and when the complaints about him became more numerous, Cicero had to take some decisive steps to save him from his companions, especially from a rhetorician by the name of Gorgias. The following letter was written a short time after these events and gives to Tiro, who seems to have acted as mediator between the father and the son, promises of reform which are only too vivid to be taken quite seriously.

1. **post diem**: this was extraordinarily slow service; the usual time for letters from Rome to Athens was only twenty-three days. — **optatissimus**: the use of superlatives is characteristic of the youth of the writer. — **excusationem**: his excuses for having kept silent so long.

2. **gratos esse**: this construction occurs chiefly after Cicero (G. 555, 2, N.). — **rumores**: such as the letter of Trebonius, *Fam.* XII, 16. — **cum velles**: when *cum . . . tum* have the same verb, the mood is regularly the indicative; G. 588, 1. — **successa**: for the tense, see G. 280, b, c; for the use of the passive of an intransitive, G. 220, N. 1.

3. **Cratippo**: a peripatetic philosopher and professor at Athens. Cicero respected him highly and procured for him Roman citizenship.

4. **Bruttio**: a Roman who taught grammar; that is, the elementary science of language. The passage gives an interesting glimpse into the poverty of such teachers in antiquity. — **angustiis**: for the facts see introductory note. — **φιλολογία**: *serious studies* (Tyrrell). — **συζητήσει**: *discussion* (Tyrrell).

5. **Cassium**: a Roman, professor of eloquence. — **Epicrates**: a noble Athenian, perhaps the president of the Young Men's

Association (Archon of the Ephebi). — **Leonides**: another Athenian, charged with the duty of sending regular reports about young Cicero to his father. — τὰ μὲν οὖν: *that's all the news about myself*.

6. **Gorgia**: see introductory note. — διαπρήδην: *expressly*. — σπουδῇ *interest*. — **succurrebat** = *occurrebat*.

7. **hoc loco**: in the letter. — **habes**: either “you are now a landed proprietor,” or like *Att. XII, 1*, from the arena, “there you have it.” — **semina**: the pits of the fruits served at the dessert, to plant them. — **sublevaturus**: with money, and so *defuisse*, above. The statement is meant for a joke.

8. **operae**: here the time spent in working. — **hypomnematis**: the notes which he took during the lectures, and which he wrote out at home. — συμφιλολογεῖν: *to have a learned chat*.

CLIII. **L. Munatius Plancus's** father had been a friend of Cicero. He himself had been one of Caesar's *legati*, and during 46 one of the administrators of Rome (*praefecti*) during the absence of the dictator. In 44 he had been made governor of Transalpine Gaul, and had been promised the consulship for 42. After the murder he went to his province, and Cicero, presuming upon his relations to his father, wrote him this letter, exhorting him to be loyal to the cause of liberty. This led to a frequent correspondence in which Plancus made many promises and protestations of loyalty. Later, however, he joined Antony.

1. **proficiscens**: in July Cicero had started for Athens to visit his son, but had given up his plan and returned by the end of August. On September 2 he delivered the first Philippic. — **non modo**: for *non modo non*, because the two contrasting clauses have the same verb (*G. 482, R. 1*); the *ut*, belonging to both clauses, should stand before the *non*, but has been transferred, as frequently in the letters. — **longa**: because Plancus would not become consul until January 1, 42. — **rei publicae**: with *spiritum*. — **impotentissimi**: (*sui se.*), as in Horace, *C. I, 37, 10, quidlibet impotens*.

2. **acta**: the *Acta Diurna*, the official Gazette, established by Caesar, 59. — **pueritia**: alluding to his friendship with Plancus's father. — **quae si**: the state; cp. *rei publicae spiritum ducere*, above.

3. **aliquanto ante**: at the end of his governorship, early in 43. — **tamen**: in your absence.

4. **Furnium**: a legatus of Plancus, employed by him to carry important communications to Rome. — **iudicii**: judgment, and the respect coming from it.

CLIV. For Plancus see the preceding letter.

2. **constitutam habui**: G. 238. — **omnia summa**: the consulship for 42, given him before the legal age, hence *adulescens*. — **optimo statu**: by joining the Optimates, *i.e.* the republican party.

3. **fuisse tempus**: because he owed his rapid promotion to the favor of Caesar. — **existimarem, arbitrarer**: we should expect the pluperfect of a contrary-to-fact condition of the past, but Cicero uses the imperfect to give his words the color of a slight reproof; I should have thought so, and shall now think so, if you persevere in your Caesarian leanings. — **quid**: how little. — **tuum**: predicate. — **rei p. bene gerendae**: explanatory genitive with *cursus*.

4. **fontibus**: philosophy. — **ostenderem . . . ostentarem**: notice the distinction between the simple verb and its intensive.

CLV. Plancus's answer to the preceding letter.

1. **ex sermone**: after, and on account of. — **excusationem**: the letter answers not only *Fam. X, 3*, but also *Fam. X, 1*, where Cicero had excused himself for his long silence, and wishes to excuse the writer for his own delay in answering in December a letter written in September. — **redisce**: from the Greek journey. — **paternae**: referring to *Fam. X, 1, 2, pueritia*. The genitives are explanatory to *causas*. — **a pueritia**: notice the attributive position of the prepositional phrase, which becomes very frequent in later Latin.

2. **patriam sanctitatem**: he reveres Cicero with the same sense of duty with which he would revere his own father; a strained expression for *quem ego patria sanctitate colo*. — **fidelitatis**: toward Plancus. — **quaecumque**: cp. *Fam. X, 3, 2, omnia summa*; it is characteristic of the two men that Cicero had put *virtus* before *fortuna*, while Plancus, with affected modesty, and at the same time with a materialistic tinge, inverts the order. — **carius**: the adverb instead of the genitive is more frequent with verbs of buying than with those of rating; G. 380, R.

3. **tui**: objective genitive.

4. **sum in expectatione** = *anxius expecto*. — **ut sciam**: explains *expectatione*. — **Ianuario**: when Hirtius and Pansa, upon

entering upon the consulship, would make a general report on the political situation before the Senate. — **hae gentes**: the Gallic tribes whose rising had been checked by Caesar during the last years of his stay in Gaul, but which might rebel at any time.

CLVI. D. Iunius Brutus Albinus had been one of the most intimate younger friends of Caesar, whose legatus in Gaul he had been. In 44, after the death of Caesar, he had gone to his province, Cisalpine Gaul. Now Antony, by a series of clever political manoeuvres, had succeeded in having this province assigned to himself for 43, and was preparing to take possession of it even before his term of office legally began. It was the resistance of Brutus against this attempt which led to the operations which we call the siege of Mutina, where since December Antony held Brutus in confinement.

1. **Lupus**: P. Rutilius L., probably a legatus of Brutus. — **in iis locis**: toward the end of October Cicero, to avoid the execution of the threats of Antony, had gone to his estates in southern Italy. — **Pansam**: the consul elect for 43. — **illa re**: Caesar's assassination.

2. **iste**: Antony; see introductory note.

3. **in perpetuum**: because Cicero feared that Antony would step into Caesar's shoes.

CLVII. A reply to *Fam.* X, 4. It is of great interest on account of the insight into the character of Plancus which it displays.

1. **eodem exemplo**: in two copies to insure its safe delivery. — **caritas**: a love of higher and more saintly character, as for the gods or for ideals. — **benevolentiae**: the same feeling which in his letter Plancus had called *observantia*. Plancus uses the language of the younger man toward the older, Cicero that of the private citizen toward the high official.

2. **habiturus esses**: an adroit turn of Plancus's words, *quid est quod me in aliam partem trahere possit?* Plancus had merely said that the side of the monarchy held out no inducements; Cicero twists this into an affirmation of republican sympathies. — **incumbas**: harking back to *Fam.* X, 1, 2, *incumberes*.

3. **temporibusque**: opportunity, referring to the charge brought against Plancus that he was a time server (*Fam.* X, 3, 3). — **temporibus**: crisis. — **proprium**: instead of the adverb. — **latronibus**: in a wider sense, scoundrels.

CLVIII.

1. **Polla**: colloquial for *Paula* (cp. *Clodius* for *Claudius*), *Valeria P.*, the wife of *Brutus*. — **legatorum**: on January 1, 43, when the new consuls consulted the Senate on the political situation, *Q. Fufius Calenus* had moved that ambassadors should be sent to *Antony* with peace proposals. In spite of *Cicero's* vehement protest, this motion was carried on the fourth, and three men were sent to order *Antony* to desist from war, and to express to *Brutus* the approval of the Senate. — **regno**: as threatening from *Antony*.

2. **Hirtius**: the consul of this year. — **Caesar**: *Octavianus*, who had raised an army of his own accord and together with *Hirtius* was operating against *Antony*.

CLIX. *C. Cassius Longinus* had first come into prominence when in 53, as quaestor of *Crassus*, he saved *Syria* from the *Parthians* after the death of his commander at *Carrhae*. Having fought with *Pompey* at *Pharsalus*, he then made his peace with *Caesar*, became praetor in 44, and was made governor of *Syria* for 43. He was the guiding spirit of the conspiracy. After a short stay at *Antium* and elsewhere in the neighborhood of *Rome*, he went to his province. At *Antony's* instigation the province was taken from him and given to *Cornelius Dolabella*, *Cicero's* former son-in-law, who hurried to the East to fight *Cassius*.

1. **vellem**: a similar sentiment occurs in a letter to *Trebonius* (*Fam. X*, 28): *quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis. invitasses! reliquiarum nihil haberemus*; that is, there would have been no crumbs, viz. *Antony* would have shared the fate of his master. — **vestrae**: possessive pronoun instead of the subjective genitive of the personal pronoun. — **consules**: *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, who in their inaugural message had declared themselves against *Antony*. — **consulares**: the ex-consuls whose vote would naturally have great influence; he is especially thinking of *Fufius*, *Philippus*, and *Piso*. — **infimo loco**: the *pedarii*, the senators of lowest rank, ex-quaestors and ex-aediles. — **Philippo**: *L. Marcius P.* the stepfather of *Octavianus*; *L. Calpurnius Piso*, *Caesar's* father-in-law. Both men were among the ambassadors to *Antony* (see note to *Fam. XI*, 8, 1); *Cicero's* friend, *Sulpicius Rufus*, the author of the famous consolatory letter, had been the third, but had died from

illness during the journey. — **postulata**: they were: land allotments for his soldiers, ratification of the land grants made by him and Dolabella, ratification of their enactments, including the forged decrees of Caesar, no accounting for the moneys which he had removed from the temple of Ops, ratification of the enactments of his commission of Septemviri, a general pardon for the illegal acts of his associates, confirmation of his *Lex Iudiciaria*, the assignment to him of Gallia Comata (southwestern Transalpine Gaul) with six legions, partly to be taken from D. Brutus, for as long as M. Brutus and C. Cassius should be in their provinces, and, at any rate, for five years; *Phil.* VIII, 25–28. — **populares**: because Cicero ever since 63 had been counted one of the Optimates.

2. **Bruto**: M., who was nearer Rome than Cassius, since he was governor of Macedonia. — **Dolabella**: see introductory note. — **XXX diebus**: a mocking allusion to the *Lex Cornelia* of Sulla, decreeing that the old governor must vacate his province within thirty days after the arrival of his successor.

CLX.

1. **Syria**: see introductory note to the preceding letter. While Syria had been assigned to Cassius by Caesar, a later decree of the Senate, passed under the influence of Antony, had ordered him and Brutus to go to Cyrene and Crete to look after the grain supplies for Rome. Both men had disobeyed, Brutus seizing Macedonia, and Cassius Syria; cp. *Phil.* X. — **copias**: those of Caecilius Bassus (*Fam.* XII, 18), of the Caesarians, and the four legions sent from Egypt against him. — **Brutus**: M. He had raised a large army in Greece and had reported the fact in an official letter to the Senate. During the debate as to the treatment of this step Cicero delivered the tenth Philippic. — **a prima . . . imperiis**: quoted literally from his speech (*Phil.* X, 10).

2. **res**, etc.: D. Brutus, the governor of Gallia Cisalpina, had been besieged in Mutina by Antony since December, 44. The consul Hirtius, by the order of the Senate, and Octavianus, with troops privately raised, were trying to relieve him. Pansa left Rome for the field of operations a short time after this letter. — **Bononiam**: the modern Bologna. — **Claternae**: near Bononia; Forum Corneliū: a short distance from Claternae; Regium

Lepidi and Parma were on the Via Aemilia, the great north road from Rome. — **Transpadanos**: we know nothing about their relations to Cassius. But they ought naturally to have aided Antony, since they had received the citizenship from Caesar. — **consularibus**: see note to the preceding letter. — **L. Caesar**: an uncle of Antony, but his bitter enemy.

3. morte: see note to the preceding letter sub *Philippo*. — **lumen**: in spite of the seriousness of the situation Cicero cannot refrain from a play on words; the light of Cassius shall shine from the East.

CLXI. Plancus — and Lepidus — had officially advocated that the Senate make peace with Antony. Orally his legatus and confidential messenger Furnius had talked differently. Cicero wrote this letter to admonish Plancus to give up his duplicity.

1. collega: D. Brutus, who would be consul with Plancus in 42. — **latronibus**: Antony and his army. — **aut pax**: anacoluthon. — **fratre**: Cn. Plancus, who was in command under his brother.

2. deesset: the subjunctive is due to partial obliquity; translate by inserting "as I believe." — **praeceptum**: appropriate in the mouth of an older man. — **vocabula**: empty words. — **iis**: the Caesarians, especially Lepidus. — **temporum**: cp. *temporibus*, *Fam. X, 3, 3*.

3. consularis: not ex-consul, but of the dignity befitting a consul, true consul. — **ut pacem**: a loose construction instead of *qui*.

CLXII. During the latter part of March, Plancus had written an official report to the Senate (*Fam. X, 8*), asking this body to ratify his promises to his soldiers. He also wrote a private letter to Cicero (*Fam. X, 7*), bespeaking his support for this demand. This letter is the reply.

1. attulisse: cp. *Fam. X, 7, 2*: *spero me consecuturum ut maximo praesidio rei p. nos fuisse sentiant homines*. — **ita . . . ut**: cp. *Cat. IV, 11*, *ita mihi re p. frui liceat, ut ego non moveor*. — **nossem**: causal. — **non quo umquam**: for the facts cp. *Fam. X, 6*, showing that the anxiety of the Senate was well founded and shared by Cicero. — **quo progredi**: how far you were willing to go.

2. Varisidius: a knight, friend of Plancus, who had brought

Fam. X, 7 to Cicero. — **deduceret**: according to the Roman custom of publicly escorting prominent men. — **Munatius**: T., a relative of the addressee. — **tuas**: (*dedi* se.). — **Varisidius**: (*venerat* se.). — **publice**: the letter to the Senate, *Fam.* X, 8.

3. **aberant**: on their campaign against Antony. — **religio**: a religious scruple. This necessitated the adjournment of the meeting (*dilata*). — **pullariorum**: the *pullarii* were originally the keepers of the sacred fowl (*pulli*) by whose eating (*ex tripudiis*) the will of the gods was made clear. In Cicero's day the *tripudia* had gone out of fashion and the title *p.* simply meant an assistant at the auspices. — **collegio**: of the Augurs. — **Servilio**: P. Servilius Vatia, a prominent member of the Optimates. — **prima**: the presiding officer decided the order in which motions were to be voted on. — **in alia**: the Senate voted by "division," i.e. the "ayes" went to that side of the hall where the mover sat, the "noes" to the opposite side; hence *in alia omnia discedere* = *to vote down*. — **Titius**: *tribunus plebis*, who used his constitutional right of intercession. Such step had only a momentary effect, for a reconsideration could be had at any time, and even without this, the vote of the Senate could be published as *Senatus auctoritas*, though not as *consultum*.

4. **Iovi**: a proverb applying to stubbornness; Otto, *Sprichwoerter*, 179.

5. **collecta . . . insignibus**: this is an attempt to console Plancus's wounded vanity for his failure in inducing the Senate to give him the public recognition which he coveted. — **vitast**: quoted from *Cat.* I, 27.

CLXIII. On April 21, 43, the battle of Mutina had been fought. But Hirtius fell on the field, and Pansa, mortally wounded, died two days later, so that the loss to the cause of freedom outweighed the fruits of the victory. The letter was written from the camp at Regium Lepidi, a week after the battle. Antony had taken flight and was on his way into Transalpine Gaul to seek an alliance with Lepidus.

1. **Ventidius**: P. V. Bassus, a parvenu whom Caesar had raised to senatorial rank, had raised three legions from among Caesar's veterans and was now on his way across the Appennines to join Antony. — **ventosissimum**: unreliable like the wind; we should say, like a vane. — **Lepidum**: the later triumvir, at present

governor of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior. — **Pollione**: Asinius Pollio, the historian, and friend of Horace and Vergil, was at this time governor of Hispania Ulterior, and holding aloof from participating in the fight. Brutus's suspicions were soon confirmed by his joining Antony. — **multae**: Lepidus had seven, Pollio three.

2. persuasissimum: an interesting superlative from a participle. — **id de hoc**: if you have any doubts; a crabbed expression. — **Plancum**: whose vacillation Brutus seems to have perceived more clearly than Cicero.

CLXIV. After the defeat at Mutina Antony was trying to reach Transalpine Gaul, sending his brother Lucius ahead with a small body of cavalry. D. Brutus, whose army needed a rest, did not start in pursuit until April 29. Plancus had entered into negotiations with Lepidus and then sent his brother Gnaeus forward with cavalry to intercept Antony's vanguard.

1. his litteris: referring to *Fam.* X, 11, a much earlier letter, which evidently had not been sent at once and was now to be forwarded together with this. — **latronem**: Antony. — **abuteretur**: use to the full.

2. Laterensem: Iuventius Laterensis, praetor 51, now serving in Lepidus's army. — **ab equitatu**: instead of the ablative of specification; G. 397, N. 1.

3. eam partem: perhaps the tenth legion, which had been Caesar's favorite brigade and would be inclined to cherish his memory. — **Isara**: the modern Isère. — **L. Antonium**: see introductory note. — **Forum Iuli**: the modern Fréjus. — **fratrem**: Gnaeus; see introductory note.

CLXV. On May 29, 43, Lepidus had joined Antony and had been declared an enemy of the republic, June 30.

1. adfinis: his sister, Tertulla, was the wife of Cassius. — **sententiis omnibus**: a unanimous vote. — **ceterique**: his army. — **potestas**: they had been conditionally outlawed, provided that they did not return to the republican fold before September 1. — **Dolabella**: who had gone to Syria to depose Cassius. The latter was besieging him in Laodicea, where he finally committed suicide. — **capite**: *caput fluminis* is the source of a river; hence here, without knowing the source of the report.

2. litteris: *Fam.* XII, 12. — **venire**: not *venturum*, because

they believe him on the march. — **haec**: the fight with Antony. — **potuero**: English uses the present; G. 244, R. 3. — **ornabo**: by advocating land grants and other rewards; cp. *Fam.* XII, 12, 3, *milites tuere et effice ne quem paeniteat rem p. quam spem praedae et rapinarum sequi maluisse.*

3. **viceramus**: the indicative in the apodosis of a contrary-to-fact condition, "when the conclusion is confidently anticipated," only after negative protasis; G. 597, R. 2. — **consules designatos**: D. Brutus, Munatius Plancus. The latter, however, soon joined the enemy.

4. **Bruto**: M. — **iam iamque**: because, being in Macedonia, he was nearer Italy. He never came, but went to Asia instead. — **consistet**: "gain a firm foothold."

CLXVI. The last letter extant. Lepidus had joined Antony May 29, whereupon Plancus on June 4 recrossed the Isara, in order to wait for D. Brutus. Octavianus felt slighted because Pansa had handed over his troops to Brutus rather than to him, and lapsed into inactivity.

1. **in singulas**: instead of *pro singulis*. — **orationis**: appositive to *munere*. — **amicitias, propinquitates**: the abstract for the concrete, perhaps still felt in its old collective force.

2. **commodis**: after the battle of Mutina a commission of ten men had been appointed to reward the republican soldiers with land grants. Cicero was a member. — **novissime** = *denique* or *tum*, the usual word in the last member of an enumeration. — **sollicitatione**: cp. *Fam.* X, 8, 3, *confirmandus erat exercitus nobis magnis saepe praemiis sollicitatus.*

3. **integra**: in *statu quo*, without running any risks. — **firmitate exiguus**: because the veterans would naturally gravitate toward the Caesarians and the recruits would be of small value in a battle. — **expertum**: G. 167, N. 2.

4. **Africanus**: commanded by Cornificius. — **Caesaris**: Octavianus. — **quod attinet**: his forces. — **alia consilia**: his candidacy for the consulship. This was all the more painful for Plancus because he was consul designatus for 42.

5. **Caesaris**: the first *Caesar* refers to Octavianus, the second to C. Caesar. — **vestro iudicio**: referring to the ratification of the adoption by the *comitia curiata* which was necessary to make it legal.

6. **acceptum referre**: a bookkeeping term ; *to credit*. — **Hispaniam**: it was the Pompeian stronghold. — **bimestris**: an exaggeration, for since this was July, he would have been in office about five months. — **efflagitatione**: Octavianus had forced the consulship from the Senate by marching to Rome with his army.

7. **merita**: Cicero had enthusiastically welcomed Octavianus when he raised an army against Antony. — **exigeret** = *ageret*; cp. *exputare* above.

8. **sustinemus**: cp. *integra sustinuimus*, above, sec. 3. — **se respexerit**: looks after himself, knows where his true advantage is.

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